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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREECE.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

The Country and Coast

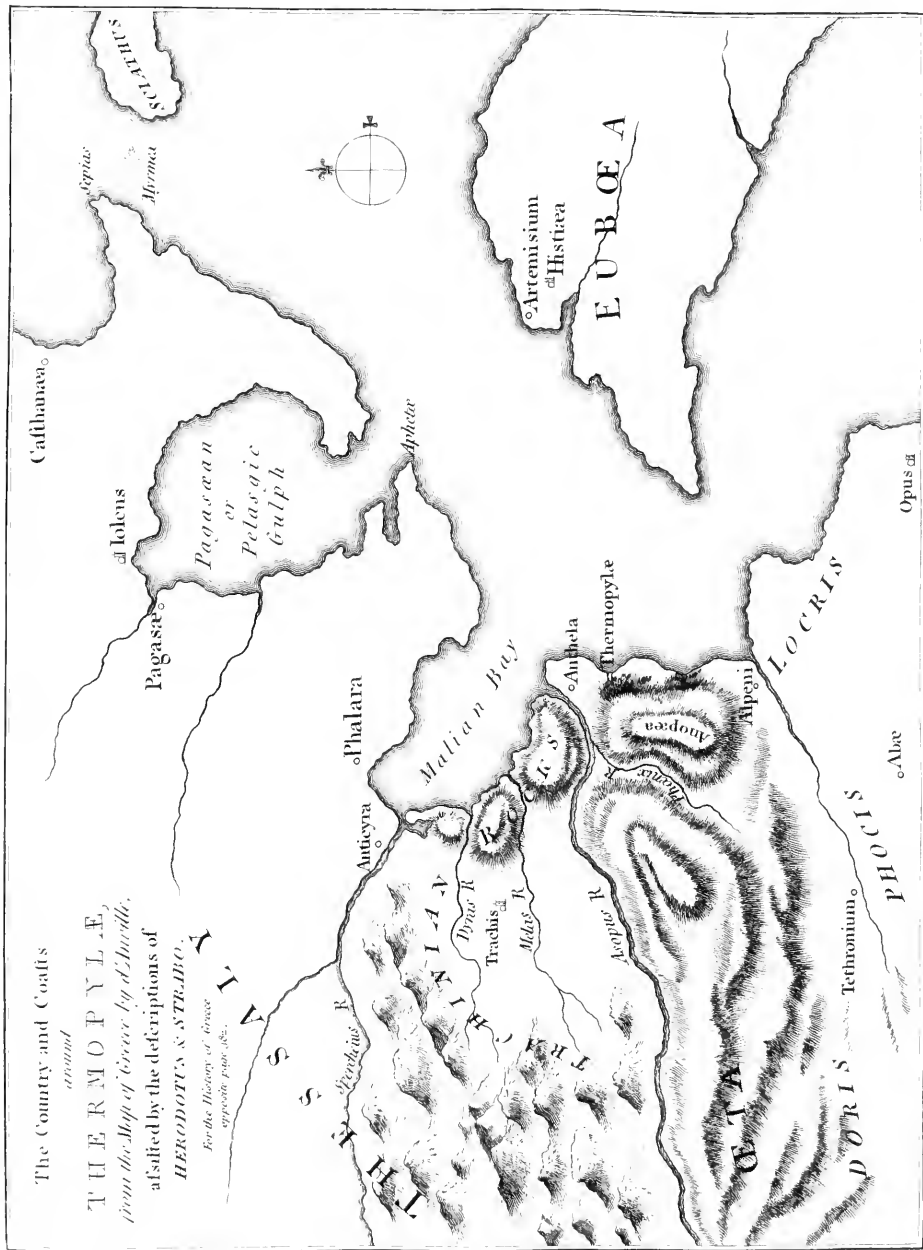
around

THE THERMOPYLÆ,
from the Map of Greece by d'Anville.

as deduced by the descriptions of

HERODOTUS & STRABO.

For the History of Greece
appears page 36.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E E C E.

By WILLIAM MITFORD, Esq.

THE FIRST VOLUME.



L O N D O N :
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IT may probably be expected, particularly of an unknown writer, in offering to the Public at this day a History of Greece, to give some prefatory account of his design. Yet it is scarcely possible, and would at best be tedious, to apologize adequately in a preface for a work whose subject is so extensive and so complicated, and whose materials are at the same time so various and so defective. The assertion is little hazardous that a History of Greece remains yet among the desiderata of literature. But the very length of time through which the want has continued, while Grecian history has more or less engaged the attention of every man of letters, may give the greater appearance of presumption to any hope of supplying it. The reality of the want indeed alone can justify the endeavour; and for the execution no apology will avail if the work itself cannot be its own advocate. With these considerations, desirous of avoiding equally negligence and tediousness, without farther preface, but not without anxious expectation of the public judgement, the author submits the following History to the world.

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E R R O R S of the P R E S S.

- Page 288, Note * for κατοιχημένοι read κατοικημένοι.
 — 350, line 10, *for* of Agincourt and Poitiers, *read*, of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all of Azincour.
 — 387, l. 7. *for* accidentally, *read* accidentally.
 — 389, l. 3. *from the bottom, for* misfortunes, *read* misfortune.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
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G R E E C E.

C H A P. I.

The History of GREECE, from the earliest Accounts to
the TROJAN War.

S E C T. I.

State of the World before the first Accounts of Greece. Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical Description of Greece. Unsettled Population of the early Ages. Spirit of War and Robbery. The Phenicians navigate the Grecian Seas, and settle on the Coasts.

THE first accounts of Greece are derived from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly interesting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country



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try was uninhabited, and when their forefathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity one is particularly striking: the oldest traditionary memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions of the first necessity to political society, and of arts even of the first necessity to human life. Hence, while the origin of other ancient nations is necessarily left to the conjectures of the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people seems to demand some inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the historian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiosity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander. But the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through so many means, that he would scarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature, and the progress of society, to consider man in a state absolutely uncultivated; full grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without instruction or information of any kind. Yet whatsoever advantages may be proposed from speculation upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in such a state ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms fancied by Democritus and Epicurus will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise. But since the deep researches of modern philosophers in natural history, assisted by the extensive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great enlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened so many new sources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena, new objections have been made to the Mosaic history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged,

urged, could never be intended to relate to the whole earth, but to those parts only with which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. Yet whatsoever difficulties may occur in that concise historical sketch, uncertain in some places from extreme antiquity of idiom, injured perhaps in some through multifarious transcription, and in others showing things only through the veil of allegory (a mode of writing which, whatsoever its advantages, or whatsoever its inconveniencies, the wisest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud, or folly in the writer *), still invention has never been able to form any theory equally consistent with the principles of the most enlightened philosophy †, or equally consonant to the most authentic testimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human tradition, or borne in the face of nature. Not therefore to inquire after that state of man wholly untaught and unconnected, which philosophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt, which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers; the subject before us seems to refer for its source to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong collateral testimony is found both in the oldest gentile authors, and in the known state of things. Mankind, according to the most ancient of historians, considerably informed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of emigration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to this spirit, which seems always to have existed extensively among men, though commentators with bold absurdity have undertaken to explain, the historian himself is far from giving full information ‡. All history, however, proves that

Genesis, c. x.
& xi.

* The original and principal purpose of that allegoric style which has always been familiar in the East, is well explained in few words by Macrobius: *Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur quæ non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines & exempla confugiunt. Somn. Scip.*

l. i. c. 2. This subject is learnedly treated in the second volume of Bishop Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, and ingeniously commented upon in Governor Pownall's *Treatise on the Study of Antiquities*.

† See Pownall's *Treatise*, p. 130.

‡ 'The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised from a single expression

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such a spirit has operated over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuate, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind, among whom the numberless hords that still wander over the immense continent stretching from the north of European Turkey to the north of China, are remarkable. The Mosaic writings then, the general tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors *, and the most authentic testimonies of whatsoever kind of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most abstruse sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowledge, under favor of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated into barbarians and savages.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates, supposed by many to have been the first settled after that general flood to which every part of the earth seems scarcely less to bear testimony than the writings of Moses, were certainly among the first that became populous. Here, from the climate, the wants of man are comparatively few; and those plentifully supplied by a soil of exuberant fertility, level to a vast extent, naturally unincumbered with wood, and consequently little exposed to depredation from beasts of prey †. The families remaining in this country were not likely soon to lose the civility, the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained, or whether they invented, astronomy and dialling existed among the Babylonians at a period beyond all

Herodot. l. i.
c. 193.
Strabo, l. xvi.

Herodot. l. ii.
c. 109.

* 'sion in the Bible, and sometimes from the
'supposition of a fact nowhere to be found,
'are astonishing. If you believe the He-
'brew doctors, the language of men, which
'till that time (the building of Babel) had
'been one, was divided into seventy lan-
'guages. But of the miraculous division of
'languages there is not one word in the Bi-
'ble.' *Dissertation on the Origin of Lan-
guages*, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, second ed.

p. 24. where are some judicious observations on the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind.

* This has been largely collected by Mr. Bryant, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*.

† The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus's account of it confirmed, by the diligence and accurate judgement of Mr. Gibbon, in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

means

means of investigating their rise; and notwithstanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of letters is involved, we still can trace every known alphabet to the neighbourhood at least of Babylon.

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Of the families who went in quest of new settlements, or who wandered, perhaps many of them, without any decided intention of settling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. This country, being periodically overflowed by the Nile, receives thus a kind of tillage, as well as a very rich manuring; so that, beside producing spontaneously in wonderful abundance many herbs and roots almost peculiar to itself, which form a coarse but wholesome food, it is moreover thus very advantageously prepared by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. The benefit of these temporary floods, which might otherwise appear at first view to bring only desolation upon a country, would have been learnt from the inferior inundations of the Euphrates and Tigris, which are also periodical. Thus invited, therefore, the occupants of Egypt gave their attention to the culture of grain: and as the fertility of the soil made the returns prodigiously great, populousness quickly followed abundance; polity became necessary; and we are told that in this country was constituted the first regular government: by which seems to be meant the first government in which various rights and various functions were regularly assigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Asia. Of the arts, especially those more immediately affecting the well-being of numerous societies, Egypt was probably the mother of many, as she was certainly the nurse of most. Geometry is said to have been the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country; for the annual overflowings of the Nile obliterating ordinary land-marks, that science alone could ascertain the boundaries of property.

Diodor. Sic.
l. i. c. 10. &
43. & 80.

Herodot. l. ii.
c. 109.
Diod. Sic. l. i.
c. 81.
Strabo, l. xvi.
p. 757. & 787.

The singularly daring and unfeeling hardiness attributed by the Roman lyricist to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears by no means necessary for the origin
of

Horat. ode 3.
l. i.

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of navigation. In so warm a climate as the middle of Asia, bathing would be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of swimming, especially when so many terrestrial animals were seen to swim naturally, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror; and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the construction and use of canoes required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance therefore leads to suppose, that vessels of that simple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slender rudiments of naval knowledge, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had a ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Not then to extend our inquiry to those remote and inhospitable though polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, where characters are ten times more numerous than words, and where the study of a long life scarcely suffices for learning to read, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the inhabitants of the countries between them seem to have been the only people who never sunk to utter barbarism. Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city abounding with manufactures, and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns. Yet was Greece the first country of Europe that emerged from barbarism; and this advantage it seems to have owed intirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East.

The



The migrating hords mostly found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood: arms their first necessities. Their life was thus spent in action: they spread far; had few neighbours; and with those few little intercourse. Such people were inevitably barbarous: but they would, much sooner than more civilized people, give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent islands. Security from savage beasts, and men as savage, would be the first solicitude of families; and this those islands would seem to promise in a greater degree than the continent. Other islands appearing beyond these, and beyond those again still others, navigation would here be almost a natural employment. The same inducements would extend to the coasts of the continent of Greece, indented as it is with gulphs, and divided with peninsulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators; perhaps soon after its first population; and as no part of it was very distant from the sea, the whole thus participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

This country, called by the ancient inhabitants *HELLAS*, by the Romans *GRÆCIA*, and thence by us *GREECE*, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced, not a little, both the manners and the political institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history.

GREECE is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and is surrounded by seas, except where it borders upon *EPHROS* and *MACEDONIA*. These two provinces also were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin with the Greeks, and spoke a dialect of the same language. We have no direct information how they became excluded from the name:

but

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Strabo, l. vii.
P. 324.

but we shall find in the sequel, that some circumstances which contributed greatly to hold the Greeks united as one people, though under separate governments, did not extend their influence to these countries. Of PROPER GREECE therefore, or, according to Strabo's phrase, what was universally allowed to be Greece, for Epirus and Macedonia had their claims, THESSALY was the most northern province. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north OLYMPUS, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Continuous ridges extend to the CERAUNIAN mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate against the western sea in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and for storms. PINDUS forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and CÆTA the southern. Between the foot of mount Cæta and the sea, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, though generally narrow ridge of Ossa, forming the coast, connects Cæta with Olympus. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulphs on each side of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and Cæta spread themselves through this country. ÆTOLIA is everywhere defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river ACHELOUS divides a small part of its western frontier from ACARNANIA. DORIS is almost wholly mountainous. LOCRI, of which name were two provinces not contiguous, and PHOCIS have plains highly fruitful, but of small extent. BÆOTIA is a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulph, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains PARNASSUS, HELICON, CITHÆRON, and PARNES. The two last formed the northern boundary of ATTICA; a rocky barren province, producing little corn and less pasture, but many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

To

To the south of this tract lies the peninsula of PELOPONNESUS, connected with it by the Corinthian isthmus, which in one part is only five miles wide. The isthmus itself is mountainous. The peninsula contains Achaia *, Argolis, Elis or Eleia, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia. ARCADIA, the central province, is a cluster of mountains. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are TAYGETUS and ZAREX, branch through LACONIA to the two most southern promontories of Greece, TÆNARUM, and MALEA. Between these the EUROTAS runs: the vales are rich, but nowhere extensive. From CYLLENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the ARGOLIC gulph, the other by EPIDAUROS to the SCYLLÆAN promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. These include the vale of ARGOS, remarkable for fruitfulness. ACHÆA is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from CORINTH to DUME. ELIS and MESSENA are less mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level province of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of all Greece.

It appears thus that Greece is a rough country, yet enjoying many, and even peculiar advantages. The climate is most favorable: the summer-heat brings the finest fruits to the greatest perfection: the winter-cold suffices to brace and harden the bodies of the inhabitants: the sea is scarcely anywhere too distant to keep both within the desirable temperature. The long winding range of

* Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering foreign names to their vernacular terminations prevailed with our writers. This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us, and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the

practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers in their alterations of Greek names, inasmuch that in regard to many circumstances the rule appears established. There are however still circumstances in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of custom, and, perhaps it should be added, the different nature of the alphabets, will permit.

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coast abounds with excellent harbours. The vales afford rich pasture; the middle grounds corn, wine and oil; and of the mountains, some to a great extent are covered with variety of timber; some formed of the finest marble; some contain various valuable metals. And this variety in the surface, which gives occasion to equal variety of produce, affords at the same time variety of climate in every season of the year.

The first emigrants who took possession of this country, if they retained the least relic of civility, could want no inducement to settle themselves in the rich and beautiful vales with which it abounds. Even the most savage, for the habitation of a family, would prefer a fruitful plain; especially where mountain-forests were every-way at hand for the resource of hunting, when the vale, ill-cultivated or uncultivated, might no longer afford subsistence. But perhaps the beasts of prey, with which the old world has always been infested so greatly more than the new, have contributed not a little to the quicker progress of society and civilization. The first inhabitants of Greece particularly could hardly subsist without mutual support against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which everywhere surrounded them. Even in the age of Hesiod and Homer the brute creation was not so far subdued, in the countries occupied by the Greeks, but that security against wild beasts was an important purpose of human society. Some degree of political association would therefore from the first be necessary: the inhabitants of every vale would constitute a state more or less regular.

But the spirit of emigration seems not soon to have subsided among mankind. Many whole hords, either dissatisfied with their settlements, or, like the Arabs and Tartars to this day, without a desire to settle, quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered still in quest of others*: and it appears to have been a universal prac-

* Μάλιστα μὲν ὅτε κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, γινώσκει τὰς ἱσθμίδας καὶ τὰς μεταστάσεις αὐτῶν, τὼν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔμφη τι χρησαμένῳ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάστασιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἢ ταῦτα· τό τε γὰρ Πηλεσγῶν ἢ Φύλοι καὶ τῶν Καικόνων καὶ Λαλίων·

ἔρεται δ' ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἐπέρχαν τοιαύτων πλανήματα. Strabo, l. xii. p. 572. The Amsterdam edition of 1707 has πρὸς for πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· evidently an error of the press, and indeed corrected in the Latin version.

tice, when an eligible situation was overstocked with inhabitants, which might soon happen where not only manufactures and commerce, but even agriculture was unknown or unpractised, to send out colonies, often to parts very distant. Thus we find that in very early times many different people, of whom the Greek writers in the most enlightened ages could give no satisfactory account, overrun Greece; sometimes mixing with the ancient inhabitants, sometimes expelling them. The rich vales, which without cultivation would give large support for cattle, were the coveted territories; and these were continually changing their possessors. Of the expelled, some wandered in quest of unoccupied vales; or in their turn drove out the inhabitants of the first they came to, if they found them weaker than themselves. Others took to the neighbouring mountains; and thence, harassing the intruders, not unfrequently recovered in time their old settlement in the vale. When pressed by a superior force, any of them quitted their possessions with little regret; 'thinking,' as Thucydides observes, 'that a livelihood might be had anywhere, and anxious for nothing more: for being always uncertain when a more powerful clan might covet their territory, they had little encouragement to build, or plant, or provide in any way farther than for present need.'

Strabo, l. v.
p. 221. & l. vii.
p. 321.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 2.

Greece thus, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual maroding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants of some parts by degrees settled to agriculture, men, women and children, for slaves, became desirable. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its neighbouring sea; where small islands were so thickly scattered that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the adjacent continents also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. But the Greeks in their most barbarous state became acquainted with the value of the precious metals. The Phenicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 5.

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Strabo, l. iii.
p. 169.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 8.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 47.

Odyss. l. xx.
v. 414.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 5.

Pennant's Ac-
count of Scot-
land.

Brydone's
Account of Si-
cily.

Wood on Ho-
mer.

adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the farthest shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the islands of the *Ægean*, and on its northern coast. They established themselves in several of the islands; and *Thasos*, which lay conveniently for communication with the most productive mines, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable islands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps, as *Homer* not less than the later Grecian authors insinuates, the conduct of the *Phenicians* toward the uncivilized nations among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally ensue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks, as an honorable practice. But whence-soever this opinion had its origin, however deserving the utmost reprobation, and however even unaccountable it may appear to civilized people who have no intercourse with barbarians, it will yet be found that equal degrees of civility and of barbarism have occasioned manners and sentiments nearly similar in all ages and all nations. It is not so long since robbery was held in esteem among the native *Irish*; and, within the memory of man, a hospitable highland *Scottish* chief, proud of his fabled descent from kings and heroes, would have boasted of his achievements in that way: in *Sicily* such sentiments even yet prevail; and among all the *Arabian* tribes, from the middle of *Asia* to the end of *Africa*, the idea of union between honor and robbery has been transmitted unaltered through hundreds of generations.

S E C T. II.

Of the Southern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Crete: Minos. Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian Dominion in Greece: Egyptian Colonies in Greece: Danaus: Acrifus: Perseus. Pisa: Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hercules. Atreus: Dominion of the Family of Pelops: Agamemnon. Lacedæmon.

SUCH was the wild and barbarous state of Greece in general when CRETE, the largest of its islands, had acquired a polity singularly regular, attended of course with superior civilization. In vain however would we inquire at what precise period, in what state of society, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what assistance of fortunate contingencies, so extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common; and traditions are vague, various, and for the most part inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the dissertator and the antiquarian. Curiosity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information which have preserved to us the names of the Cabiri, Telchines, Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with Saturn, Jupiter, and other personages of this island. Still more it is excited by that system of laws, which in an age of savage ignorance, violence and uncertainty among surrounding nations, enforced civil order, and secured civil freedom to the Cretan people; which was not only the particular model of the wonderful polity so well known to us through the fame of Lacedæmon, but appears to have been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence, and which continued to deserve the eulogies of the greatest sages and politicians in the brightest periods of literature and philosophy. The glory of this establishment is generally given to Minos, a prince of the island; whose history was however so dubiously trans-

mitted

CHAP. I.
SECT. II.

Strabo, l. x.
p. 466.

Plato. Minos,
& de Leg.
Aristot. Polit.
l. ii.

Strabo, l. x.
p. 480, 481.
Plutarch. Lycurg.

Strabo, l. x.
p. 477.

Plato de Leg.
l. i. p. 631, c. ii.
ed. Serran.

Aristot. Polit.
Homer. Iliad.
l. xiii. v. 455,
& Odyssey.
v. 178.

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Strabo, l. x.
p. 480.
Diodor. Sic.
l. v.

Aristot. Polit.
l. ii. c. 9 & 10.
Strabo, l. x.

Plato de Leg.
l. i.
Aristot. Polit.
l. vii. c. 1.

Odyss. xix.
175.

ibid. & Iliad.
l. ii. v. 645.

mitted to posterity, that it remained undecided among Grecian writers whether he was a native or a foreigner. Some indeed attributed the final improvement only to Minos, referring the first institution to Rhadamanthus in a still earlier age. We are indeed without materials for any connected history of Crete even after the age of Minos; but there remains, from the most respectable authority, a general account of its polity. This will however not obtain, from the liberal spirit of modern Europe, that full approbation which it earned from antiquity. It rested upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The lawgiver therefore allowed no private property in land, nor scarcely in anything. The soil was cultivated by slaves on the public account: the freemen ate together at public tables; and their families were subsisted from the public stock. The monarch's authority, except in war, was extremely limited. The magistracies in general were wisely adapted to the spirit of the government. A severe morality was in some instances enforced by law. Superiority was the meed of age and merit only. Youth were restrained to the strictest modesty and temperance. Their education, which was public, was particularly directed to make them soldiers. But while a comparatively small society thus lived in just freedom, and honorable leisure, a much larger portion of mankind was for their sakes doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery. It is difficult to account for the first establishment of such a system but upon the supposition that an Egyptian or Phenician colony, seizing the lands, like the Spaniards in the West-Indian islands, deprived the ancient inhabitants of arms, and compelled them to labor. But Homer enumerates five different hords in Crete, using different dialects; all apparently free; for slaves are never reckoned among the people of a Grecian state; and all subject to the laws and government of Minos. He mentions also the wealth and populousness of the island, the wisdom of its legislator, and his singular favor with Jupiter: but Homer's account goes no farther, and after him the traditions concerning Minos became peculiarly

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peculiarly loaded with fable. Some circumstances, however, of principal importance seem to remain yet sufficiently warranted for history. From a strong concurrence of testimony it appears that Minos was an able prince, who availed himself of advantages open to him from the command of a people formed to regular government, and not unacquainted with useful arts. Against those pirates who infested every part of the Grecian seas, he kept armed vessels in constant employ; and his measures were so vigorous and judicious, that he established security throughout the *Ægean*. Hence he has the credit among historians of being the first Grecian prince who acquired the sovereignty of the sea. By means of his fleet he extended his authority far among the islands: he was respected throughout the coast of the neighbouring continents; and he left behind him a wide reputation for wisdom, justice and power.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 3.
Plato. Minos,
& de Leg. l. iv.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 3 & 4.
Dionys. Hal.
Antiq. Rom.
l. v.

Herodot. l. i.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 4.
Plato. Minos.
Aristot. Polit.
l. ii. c. 10.
Plutarch.
Thet.

Before the reign of this great prince, as that early and able historian Thucydides assures us, such had been the excesses of piracy that all the shores both of the continent and islands of Greece were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea; and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was now turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils. In earlier times, however, some settlements had been made capable of resisting piratical attempts from the sea, or incursions of wandering freebooters by land. *Sicyon* on the northern coast of Peloponnesus claimed, in the civilized ages, to be the oldest town of Greece. A town implies not only an intention of settled occupancy, but also some provision against occurrences of whatsoever kind that might renew the necessity of migration. Some municipal government is indispensable. The town then, having more to apprehend than to hope from any political connection with
the

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 7.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 8.

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the rude people from whom it sprung, undertakes to suffice for itself, and becomes an independent state. Thus the Greek word which we commonly translate *CITY*, came to signify, together with the town, its municipal government; and whenever we read in Grecian authors of a city founded, it is generally by the same words implied that an independent government was established. A long list of names is transmitted to us, as of chiefs who ruled Sicyon with that title which, in process of ages, came to have more precisely the same meaning that King bears with us. But this list comes to us wholly unwarranted by Grecian writers of best authority. The history of the kings of Sicyon is moreover as uninteresting as uncertain; and the state they governed made, till a very late period, no figure in the affairs of Greece.

The happier situation of *CORINTH*, founded in a very early age in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Peloponnesus to northern Greece, and within the same rich plain in which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge, scarcely three miles long, rises to a height remarkable even in a country of lofty mountains. The summit is at the northern extremity: three sides are precipices almost perpendicular, and even on the fourth ascent is difficult. Little beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful source of pure water, which, so situated, might help the poets to the fancy that the winged horse Pegasus, drinking, was there caught by Bellerophon. This most advantageous and nearly inexpugnable post, by the name of *Acrocorinthus*, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's time, was noted for wealth acquired by commerce. For by land it was the key of communication between northern and southern Greece; and by sea it became, through its ports, one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulph, the emporium for all that passed between the east and the west, as far as Asia on one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage round the southern promontories of Peloponnesus being so dangerous to coasting navigators, that it was generally avoided. Among the early princes of Corinth

Strabo, l. viii.

p. 379.

Liv. Hist.

Rom. l. xlv.

c. 28.

Pausan. l. ii.

c. 5.

Wheeler's

Journey into

Greece, b. vi.

p. 440.

Pind. Olymp.

xiii.

Homer. Iliad.

l. ii. v. 570.

Strabo, l. viii.

p. 378.

Corinth were Sisyphus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon; names to which poetry has given fame, but not delivered down to us objects of history.

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But the town that first acquired political eminence was ARGOS; which has indeed been esteemed, by some of the most judicious antiquarians, the oldest of Greece. It is said to have been founded by Inachus, son of the ocean; a title which, in the language of the times, might possibly imply that the bearer came from beyond sea, nobody knew whence. But some Grecian writers have doubted whether Inachus were ever really the name of a man, or only of a small river near Argos; and these attribute the foundation of the city to Phoroneus, whom the others call son of Inachus. The age of Phoroneus was indeed the term beyond which, according to Plato, nothing was known of Greece; and the more probable tradition concerning the origin of Sicyon supposed its founder, Ægialeus, cotemporary and even brother of Phoroneus.

Pausan. l. ii.
c. 15.

Plato. Timæus, p. 32. t. iii.
ed. Serran.

But the chronology of these times will be the subject of future inquiry; which however, it may be here confessed, cannot end satisfactorily. It has been computed by chronologers, who have found credit with some of the most learned even of the present age, that Sicyon was founded 2089 years before the Christian era, and only 259 after the Flood: that the foundation of Argos followed after a period of 233 years, and that the reign of Minos in Crete was still 450 years later. Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, far more consonant to the most authoritative traditions concerning the train of events, is, that Sicyon and Argos may have been founded nearly together, about 1080 years before the Christian era, and scarcely 80 before the reign of Minos. Indeed from the traditions preserved by the oldest poets, and all the inquiries reported to us by the most judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that scarcely a wandering hunter had ever set foot in Peloponnesus so early as the period assigned by chronologers even to the founding of Argos.

Blair's Chronological
Tables.

Newton's
Chronol.

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But towns are not usually at once built, and a new state formed, by the natives of a country. In the more common course of things they grow so imperceptibly, that not a rumor of their origin can remain. The accounts therefore, which refer the foundation of the principal cities of Greece to particular eras and particular persons, mark them for colonies. Indeed, amid all the darkness and intricacy of early Grecian history, we find a strong concurrence of testimony to a few principal facts. It was a received opinion among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by barbarians; a term appropriated in the flourishing ages of Greece as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. But among those uncertain traditions of various hords who in early times overran the country, the Pelasgian name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia: it is found in the islands; and the people who bore it appear to have spread far on the continent of Europe, since they are reckoned among the earliest inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally acknowledged, as the accurate and judicious Strabo assures us, that the Pelasgians were anciently established all over Greece, and that they were the first people who became powerful there. Consonant to this we find every mention of the Pelasgians by Herodotus; from whom it appears that anciently the country itself was called Pelasgia. But a passage of the poet Æschylus concerning this people, for its antiquity, its evident honesty, its probability, and its consistency with all other remaining testimony of best authority, appears to deserve particular notice. The Pelasgian chiefs, he says, extended their dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond the Dodonæan mountains westward. Peloponnesus was not peopled so early: Apis, crossing the Corinthian gulph from Ætolia, destroyed the wild beasts, and thus first made that peninsula securely habitable for men. Hence it had from him its most ancient name of Apia.

See Herodotus's Accounts of the Pelasgians, Thucydides's Introduction, Plato, Aristotle, and most particularly Strabo, b. vii. p. 321. and b. ix. p. 401. Thucyd. l. i. c. 3. Homer. *Iliad*. l. ii. v. 547. l. x. v. 429. & l. xvii. v. 288. & 301. *Odysse*. l. xv. v. 175. Herodot. l. v. c. 26. l. vi. c. 136. l. vii. c. 42. Strabo, l. v. p. 221. Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* l. i. Strabo, l. v. p. 220, 221. & l. vii. p. 327. Herodot. l. ii. c. 56. Æschyl. *Darid*. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

It appears that, in a very remote period, some revolutions in Egypt, whose early transactions are otherwise little known to us, compelled a large proportion of the inhabitants to seek foreign settlements*. Crete probably owed its civilization and polity to this event. Some of the best supported of ancient Grecian traditions relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in Greece; traditions so little accommodated to national prejudice, yet so very generally received, and so perfectly consonant to all known history, that, for their more essential circumstances, they seem unquestionable†. But these settlers naturally brought with them many oriental traditions; which, in the course of ages, through the unavoidable incorrectness of oral delivery, became so blended with early Grecian story, that, when at length letters came into use, it was no longer possible to ascertain what was properly and originally Grecian, and what had been derived from Phenicia or Egypt. Hence the abundant source, and hence the unbounded scope of Grecian fable. Hence too the variety of ingenious but discordant fancies of so many learned men concerning the truths which probably lie everywhere concealed under the alluring disguise, but which will also probably forever evade any complete detection. But with all the intricacy of fable in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation, from a mixture of the Pelasgian and perhaps some other barbarous hords with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful. Argos, according to all accounts, was an Egyptian colony. We are told that the first chief, whether Inachus or Phoroneus, or whatever else may have been his name, brought the wild natives of the neighbourhood to submit to his government, introduced some form of

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 3.

Pausan. l. ii.
c. 15.

* That such revolutions, and more particularly that such migrations happened, appears not doubtful, though the investigators of Egyptian antiquities disagree about both the circumstances of these events, and the persons principally concerned. See Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane

History, and Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

† They are confirmed by the concurring testimonies particularly of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Hecrates, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, with the added evidence of the popular poets Æschylus and Euripides.

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Æschyl. Prometh. et Danaid.

Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

Schol. ad v. 42. l. i. Iliad.

Isocrat. Helen. encom.

religion among them, and made a progress toward their civilization. We can little expect objects for history among the traditions which would pass to posterity concerning the early state of such a colony. But the successors of Phoroneus have afforded ample matter for fable; which yet we find universally tinged with some reference to Egypt and the east. Io, daughter of one of these princes, but of which is

not agreed, had, according to poetical report, an amour with the god Jupiter, was by him transformed into a cow, in that shape travelled into Egypt, and there became a goddess. Herodotus gives no improbable account, if not of the origin of this fiction, yet of the origin of its connection with Grecian story; and, as it serves to mark the manners of the age, it may be worth relating. Some Phenician merchants, he says, brought a cargo of the manufactures of their country to Argos. The Grecian women, eager to procure toys and utensils which their own towns, yet without manufactures, did not furnish, came in numbers to the sea-shore. The Phenicians, to whom women were in the east very profitable merchandize, watching their opportunity, seized all they could, and among them Io, daughter of the chief of the district, forced them into their ships, and sailed away*.

Among the kings of Argos also we find another personage of great fame in poetry, the Egyptian Danaus, whose fifty daughters married on the same day the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, king of Egypt, and all, except Hypermnestra the wife of Lynceus, killed their husbands on the wedding-night. Of this family too we have some historical anecdotes which characterize the times. Danaus, through whatsoever circumstances, for reports are various, finding his situation uneasy in Egypt, embarked with his family and as many

* That these were probable circumstances we may judge from a similar story, related of different persons, by Homer*. Mr. Bryant derives the story of Io from a very different origin. His supposition however does not at

all impugn the credibility of Herodotus's anecdote, who leaves it wholly unaccounted for how the stolen princess should acquire in a foreign country the reputation of a goddess.

* Odyss. l. xv.

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Diodor. Sic.
l. v. c. 58.
Æschyl. Danaid.
Pausan. l. ii.
c. 19.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 371.

other followers as he could collect, in quest of some new settlement. Failing in an attempt to establish his colony in the island of Rhodes, he proceeded to Peloponnesus, and landed near Argos, where Gelanor then reigned. The favor with which he was here received by the rude inhabitants, or which he had the art quickly to acquire among them, was so extraordinary, that it inspired him with the confidence to demand the sovereignty of the state as his legal right. His claim, we are told, was founded on no better ground than a pretended descent from the Argian princess whose story has been just related. But if an Egyptian colony had before been established at Argos, an Egyptian prince might have other pretensions to interest, or even to command there. A different cause is, however, reported for his favor with the people. The Argians were so uninformed, that, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, they often suffered for want of water, though the ground on which the city stood abounded with excellent springs at little depth. Danaus taught them to dig wells. The boon was, in a hot climate particularly, of high importance. The temper of the Greeks was warm: admiration and gratitude became the ruling passions at Argos, and produced an inclination toward Danaus so violent, that Gelanor was constrained to admit him peaceably to plead his right to the sovereignty before an assembly of the people, held for that purpose in the fields without the city. The dispute however was so equally maintained, that it became necessary to defer the decision till the morrow. By daybreak accordingly the people were crowding out of the gates, when a wolf, from the neighbouring mountains, caught their attention while he attacked a herd, grazing near the city-wall, and killed the bull. This was instantly taken as an omen declaring the divine will: the wolf was interpreted to signify the stranger, the bull their native prince, and the kingdom was immediately adjudged to Danaus. Whatever credit we give to the circumstances of these and similar stories, they convey to us at least the idea which the succeeding Greeks had of the manners, as well as of the history, of their ancestors. Probably they are not wholly unfounded:

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unfounded: certainly they are not the invention of adulation and partiality; and they are the only memorials remaining to characterize those early ages.

Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316.
ed. H. Steph.

The people of Argos, at the arrival of Danaus, were, according to Æschylus, Pelasgians, and subjects of a prince whose dominion extended over all Greece, together with Epirus and Macedonia *. Probably the Egyptian colony of Inachus or Phoroneus, little numerous, had been unable to maintain itself in independency against the ancient chiefs of the country. But Danaus made his establishment firm: he transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity; and such was the prevalence of his power and fame in Peloponnesus, that, according to Euripides, the people of that peninsula, before called Pelasgians, received from him the name of Danaï, which remained to Homer's age †.

Pausan. l. ii. c. 16.

Danaus was succeeded in the sovereignty of Argos by Lynceus, his son-in-law, an Egyptian born. Acrisius, grandson of Lynceus, most known through the poets as father of the celebrated Danaë, would much more on another account demand the notice of history, were it possible to trace and connect the circumstances of his reign. We learn however, only from scattered mention of him, that he acquired influence far beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, and that he gave form and stability to a very important institution in the northern provinces of Greece, which will require more particular notice hereafter, as a principal efficient in uniting and holding together, as one people, the various hostile tribes who occupied the country. By what means his power became thus extended we are wholly uninformed. Some confused traditions only of troubles toward the end of his reign account for its decay. Perseus, son of Danaë, daughter of Acrisius, is the first Grecian recorded to posterity, even in poetry

* Æschylus calls Danaus and his Egyptians Barbarians, and seems to consider the Pelasgians as true Greeks. Strabo, in a later age, when the antiquities of the country had been more canvassed, speaks of the Pelasgians as barbarians: Πηλασγοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, he says, b. ix. p. 410.

† Danaüs ὁ πενήκοντα θυγατέρας πατήρ, ἔλθων εἰς Ἄργος, ᾤκησεν ἰσάχου πόλιν· Πηλασγῶντας δ' ὀνομασμένους τοπῆν Δαναούς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκεν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

Strabo, l. v. p. 221. & l. viii. p. 371.

and fable, as great in deeds of arms. He stands therefore at the head of the list of those ancient warriors, whose names the poetical genius of their country has made so singularly illustrious, but whose actions almost wholly elude the scrutiny of history. Perseus is the reputed founder of the city Mycenæ, which he made the capital of his dominions. Argos was still governed by its own chief magistrate, with the title of king, but dependent upon the king of Mycenæ, who is stiled by Homer King of many islands, and of ALL ARGOS: a term which, with that poet, implied the whole of Peloponnesus. Afterward Argos recovered its preeminence, and Mycenæ became inconsiderable. It appeared necessary to take thus much notice of that city, so celebrated as the royal seat of Agamemnon, howsoever little occasion there may be hereafter to distinguish it by name*.

Cotemporary with Perseus was Pelops, son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia in Asia Minor; who, pressed, it is said, by unsuccessful war, quitted his country, with the easiness usual in those early ages, at the head of his partizans, to seek better fortune elsewhere. Defectively as the circumstances of this prince's story are transmitted to us, and mingled with romantic fable, yet some of the most important remain strongly authenticated. It appears that the western provinces of Asia Minor advanced before Greece toward arts and civilization. This, for which we have many grounds of surmise, receives confirmation from the candid and judicious Thucydides, who relates that, while the Greeks were yet barbarous and their country poor, Pelops, bringing with him treasures to an amount before unknown, quickly acquired an interest superior to that of any native. We are farther informed by Polybius, whose testimony, in itself weighty, is confirmed by Strabo and Pausanias, that Pelops was attended into Peloponnesus by a body of Achæians from Thessaly, whom he established in Laconia. But we learn from Homer, that the Achæian name spread far in the peninsula; for he calls the Ar-

CHAP. I.
SECT. II.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 377.

Iliad, l. ii.
v. 108.

Isocrat. He-
len, encom.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 321.
Pindar.
Olymp. i.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 9.

Polyb. l. ii.
p. 178.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 383.
Pausan. l. ii.
c. 18. & l. v.
c. 13.
Iliad, l. ii.
v. 559.

* Strabo has remarked, that the poets thought it of so little consequence to distinguish Argos and Mycenæ, that they often

used one name for the other. Strabo, l. viii.
p. 377.

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SECT. II.Strabo, l. viii.
p. 369.

gians, with all the people of the north-eastern coast, Achæians ; and he distinguishes the whole of Peloponnesus from the rest of Greece by the name of Achæian Argos. A large concurrence of tradition affirms, that the Phrygian prince married Hippodameia, daughter of Cœnomaüs, chief of Pisa in Eleia, whom he succeeded in the sovereignty of that territory ; and that in the course of a long reign he established his influence, not so much by wars as by the marriages of his numerous issue and by his wise conduct, assisted however, probably, by some terror of his power, throughout the peninsula ; inasmuch that it derived from him the name which it retained to many ages, and which is not yet wholly obsolete *.

Pausan. l. v.
c. 13.Homer. Iliad.
l. xix. v. 99.
Odysse. l. xi.
v. 365.
Hesiod. Scut.
Herc. & The-
son. v. 943.

Astydameia, daughter of Pelops, was married to Sthenelus, king of Argos, son of Perseus. Their son and successor Eurystheus is known for his enmity to Heracles, or, as we usually write with the Latins, Hercules, descended also from both Perseus and Pelops. This hero, the Grecian or the Theban Hercules, as he is often called to distinguish him from some great men of other countries known among the Greeks by the same name, was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon, king of that city ; but, according to poetical report, his father was the god Jupiter. In vain would history investigate the particulars of the life of this celebrated personage. While we mention him on account of his posterity, so illustrious in Grecian story, we can do no more than barely assign him his rank, as greatest of those heroes who, prompted by a spirit similar to that which so many ages after animated the northern and western nations, devoted themselves to toil and danger in the service of mankind and the acquisition of honest fame ; opposing oppressors, and relieving the oppressed wherever they were to be found, and bearing thus the sword of universal justice, while governments were yet too weak to wield it †.

* The Italians have altered the names of many of the principal places of Greece and the Grecian seas ; but the Greeks themselves retain the ancient names almost universally.

† Respice vindicibus pacatum viribus orbem.
Quâ latam Nereus cœrulus ambit humum.
Se tibi pax terræ, tibi se tuta æquora debent :
Implenti meritis Solis utramque domum.

Ovid. Epist. Deian. Herc.
An

CHAP. I.

SECT. II.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 9.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 377.
Diod. Sic.
l. iv.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 9.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 359.
Iliad. l. ii.
v. 575.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 383.
Pausan. l. v.
c. 1. & l. vii.
c. 1.
Iliad. l. ii.
v. 570.
Pausan. l. ii.
c. 4.
Homer. Iliad.
l. i. v. 185. &
278. l. ix. v.
32. & seq. v.
96. & seq. &
v. 160.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 9.
Isocrat. Para-
then. p. 472.
ed. Paris. Au-
ger.

The hatred of Eurystheus, which pursued Hercules through life, ended not with his death. His children and friends, obliged to quit Peloponnesus, found a generous reception at Athens. The Argian monarch, yet unsatisfied, invaded Attica; but was defeated in a battle with the Athenians, and slain. This event made way for new honors and power to the family of Pelops. Atreus, son of that prince and uncle to Eurystheus, had been left by his nephew regent of his Peloponnesian dominions during the Attic expedition. On the death of Eurystheus, Atreus assumed the sovereignty; the greatness of his connections and the popularity of his character apparently precluding competition. The claims of the Perseid and Pelopid families, thus now, by right or violence, united in the house of Pelops, extended over all Peloponnesus. Eleia had been inherited from CEnomaüs. Laconia, including, according to Strabo, great part of Messenia, was occupied by the colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly which had followed the fortune of Pelops. Achaia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialeia, with Corinth, was of the particular domain of Mycenæ. Still several cities of Peloponnesus had each its chief, presiding over its municipal government; and the degree of dependance of these upon the paramount sovereign was little exactly defined by either compact or custom: but the superiority of the head of the house of Pelops in rank, and his claim to military command, appear to have been undisputed. Under these advantageous circumstances the Argian scepter devolved to Agamemnon, son or grandson of Atreus; for the succession is variously

An ingenious attempt to elicit history from the poetical traditions concerning the Grecian Hercules may be seen in Dr. Samuel Musgrave's Dissertation on Grecian Mythology. Remaining testimonies concerning the eastern heroes, whom the Greeks called by the same name, are collected in Mr. Bryant's System of Ancient Mythology. It is truly observed by Dr. Musgrave, that the name Hercules bears all appearance of being originally Grecian, formed by the same analogy as Diocles, Athenocles, and other Greek names. It is how-

ever well known that the Greeks continually altered foreign names, to accommodate them to their own pronunciation and to the inflexions of their language: sometimes they translated them; and sometimes, by a less violent change, by the transposition or alteration of a letter or two, reduced them to bear intirely a Grecian appearance, with a meaning however totally different from the original. Mr. Bryant has collected instances of all these circumstances.

E

related.

CHAP. I.

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related *. Tradition is, however, uniform concerning a circumstance of more historical importance; an accession of fortune, which brought all the southern part of Peloponnesus under the immediate dominion of Agamemnon.

The city of LACEDÆMON, otherwise called SPARTA, was founded at a period beyond certain memorials. It appears from Homer to have been among the most considerable of the remote ages, but is little known for any remarkable personages or events till the reign of Tyndareus, whose wife, the poetical Leda, was mother of the celebrated brothers Castor and Polydeuces, or, as the Romans abbreviated the name, Pollux, and the still more celebrated sisters Clytemnestra and Helen. The brothers, afterward for their heroic deeds deified and numbered among the signs of the zodiac, died in early manhood. The sisters were married, Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, and Helen to his brother Menelaus. Thus, by inheritance through these princesses, a large and valuable domain accrued to the house of Pelops. The immediate command of Lacedæmon was given to Menelaus. But the time to which we now approach being distinguished by that very celebrated event the Trojan war, one of the great epochs of Grecian history, it will be necessary, before we proceed farther in the account of Peloponnesus, to take such a view as remaining memorials will enable us to take of the rest of Greece.

* Homer says, that the scepter presented from Jupiter by Mercury to Pelops, was given by him to Atreus, who at his death left it to Thyestes, who bequeathed it, with the sovereignty of all Argos and many islands, to Agamemnon (1). He mentions nothing of the murder of Chrylippus, eldest son of Pelops, by Atreus, nor of any of those horrors of domestic discord between the surviving brothers which in after-ages filled the scenes of the tragic poets, and found place even in the narration of grave historians. The scholiast on Homer (2) reports, that Atreus dying be-

queathed his kingdom to his brother Thyestes on condition that he should resign it to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, on his attaining manhood, and that Thyestes faithfully executed the trust. Both Æschylus and Strabo (3), also call Agamemnon and Menelaus sons of Atreus. Others (4) have supposed them his grandsons by his son Pleisthenes, who died young. The general notoriety only, it should seem, of the parentage of Agamemnon in Homer's age could occasion his neglect to particularize it, when he has so carefully recorded the pedigrees of many inferior personages.

(1) *Iliad*. I. ii. v. 103.

(2) *Iliad*. I. ii. v. 107.

(3) *Æschyl.* *Agamem.* *Strabo*, I. viii. p. 372.

(4) *Cinn.* *Ant.* in *Strabo*.

S E C T. III.

Of the northern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Thessaly: Tempe: Deucalion's Flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic Expedition. Boeotia: Flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus: Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian Government by Theseus: The Athenians the first civilized People of Greece.

OF the provinces without the peninsula the two, whose fruitfulness mostly attracted the attention of emigrants, were THESSALY and ΒΕΟΤΙΑ; and these were under very peculiar natural circumstances. Through the middle of the former runs the river Peneius, which, receiving in its course along the plain many smaller streams, and the overflowings of two considerable lakes, forces its way into the sea through the narrow valley of Tempe, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. A country thus abounding with waters and inclosed by mountains could not but be subject to inundations. Herodotus, whom, on this as on many other occasions, Strabo does not disdain to follow, relates a tradition that Thessaly was originally one vast lake, without visible outlet; till an earthquake, rending Olympus from Ossa, formed the valley of Tempe. Still, however, the frequency of smaller floods appears to have coöperated with that fruitfulness of soil, which invited rapine, in making Thessaly yet more subject to revolutions in its population than any other Grecian province; and hence perhaps Homer was the better enabled to attribute to his hero Achilles, the principal chieftain of those parts at the time of the Trojan war, the honor of having a goddess for his mother, and for his father a mortal indeed, but only second in descent from Jupiter.

THESSALY was, however, unless we must except Crete, the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, had we means of investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. We read of kings there, who extended their

CHAP. I.
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Herodot.
l. vii. c. 129.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 430.

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Plato, Menon.
t. ii. p. 79. &
Hippias Ma-
jor, t. iii. p.
284. ed Ser-
vati.

dominion southward as far as the Corinthian isthmus, and who left monuments of their wisdom that survived almost all memory of their power. These will require our future notice. Thessaly was always famous for its horses, and the turn of its people to horsemanship; which seems marked by the story of the Centaurs as earlier known there than elsewhere in Greece. Whether those poetical people were native Thessalians, or foreign invaders who settled in Thessaly, the traditionary character of the centaur Chiron appears to imply that they were a people superior in acquirements to the southern Greeks of their age*. In Thessaly also, at the port of Iolcus, we are told, was made the first successful attempt to build a ship of size superior to what had before been known; and from thence sailed the celebrated expedition of the Argonauts. Tho' we do not believe all the romantic, and still less the impossible tales, which poets, and even

* The most inquisitive and judicious of the ancient antiquarians appear to have been at a loss what to think of the Centaurs. Strabo calls them ἀγρίοι τι φίλοι (1), a mode of expression implying his uncertainty about them, while he gives them an epithet for which no reason appears. Hesiod (2) and Homer never speak of them as a savage race, and seem to have known nothing of their equine form; which, if not an Egyptian invention, has been found out by the ingenuity of later ages. The scholiast on Homer indeed says, that where Nestor, in the first book of the Iliad (3), speaks of mountain-beasts destroyed by Theseus, he means the Centaurs: but this interpretation seems violently far-fetched, and as unwarrantable as unnecessary, while the meaning of the words in their common acceptation is obvious, and perfectly consonant to every account of the state of things in that age. Nor does the scholiast seem better founded in supposing that the Centaurs are intended, in the second book of the Iliad (4), under the description of hairy wild beasts of mount Pelion. In the Odyssey (5) we find the centaur Eurytion, whose very name imports a respectable character, mentioned with the ho-

norable epithet ἀγαυότις, not likely to be given to one of a tribe fit to be described by the gross appellations of mountain-beasts and hairy savages. He behaved ill indeed; but it was in great company; and it is expressly mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, the consequence of accidental drunkenness. The story indeed seems to be intended by the poet as an instance that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves, for the time, to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to suffer accordingly. Pindar in his 3d, 4th, and 9th Pythian Odes, and 3d Nemean, describes the Centaur Chiron as a most paradoxical being, which yet, in the fourth Pythian, he has defined in two words, φηρ δαίμων, a godlike wild-beast. But even in Xenophon's time, it should seem, the term Centaur did not of itself discriminate the imaginary animal half-man and half-beast; for that author, wanting to particularize such animals, never calls them simply Centaurs, but always Hippocentaurs, Horse-centaurs. See Cyreped. b. iv.

(1) Strabo, l. ix. p. 439.

(2) Sc. Herc. v. 184.

(3) v. 268.

(4) v. 743.

(5) l. xxi. v. 295.

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some grave historians, have told of those famous adventurers; tho' we are aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, of the unavoidable confusion of chronology through a long course of oral delivery, and of the blending of events of distant countries and different ages, yet it seems unreasonable to discredit intirely the Argonautic expedition; which, on the authority of ancient writers, and with perfect consonance to probability and the character of the times, may be fairly related thus. Jason, a young man of high birth, high spirit, and superior bodily accomplishments, circumstances which excited a jealousy that made his situation uneasy at home, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition, then an honorable undertaking, to a greater distance than any had ventured before him. With the assistance of the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and of the skill of a Phenician mechanic, he built a vessel larger than had hitherto been common among the Greeks. His own rank and character, together with the fame of his ship, induced young men of distinction from other parts of Greece to join in the adventure. They directed their course to Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea; a country in some degree civilized, according to Herodotus, by an Egyptian colony, and abounding in gold, silver and iron mines. They encountered many difficulties, and suffered some loss; and what their success upon the whole was appears doubtful: but, in one great object of the ambition of their age, their chief at least was gratified: the princess Medeia, daughter of the king of the country, went off with him and passed to Greece. It was a practice of the Colchians, as we are told by Strabo and Arrian, to collect gold on mount Caucasus by extending fleeces across the beds of the torrents: as the water passed, the metallic particles remained intangled in the wool. Hence, according to those informed and judicious writers, the adventure was named the expedition of the golden fleece.

Pindar. Pyth.
iv.
Diod. Sic. l. iv.
c. 41.

Herodot. l. ii.
c. 104.
Strabo, l. i.
c. 45.

Strabo, l. xi.
p. 499.
Arrian. de
Bell. Mithridat.

BEOTIA was under natural circumstances yet more extraordinary than Thessaly. It is a vale full of subterranean caverns, and peculiarly

Strabo.

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liarily subject to earthquakes. The surrounding mountains pour in their streams on all sides, forming rivers and lakes, without any such advantageous and permanent outlet as the valley of Tempe gives to the waters of Thessaly. Earthquakes were not only often stopping old channels, and forming new ones, some open, some underground, but even forming new lakes, and converting the sites of old lakes to dry and fertile soil; so that, with the cultivated country, towns also were frequently overwhelmed by the waters. The flood of Ogyges was probably an inundation in this country, unusually destructive, which drove all the inhabitants that escaped with life to seek safety in the adjoining hilly province of Attica. The flood of Deucalion was a calamity of the same kind in Thessaly, or, according to Aristotle, rather in the western provinces about Dodona and the river Achelous. Indeed the same season might probably produce similar consequences in both; and the ignorance of aftertimes, confounding the traditions of these inundations with the imperfect reports yet remaining concerning the general deluge, thus gave that scope to fable and poetical invention, of which such ample use has been made.

Aristot. Meteorolog. l. i. c. 14.

These natural calamities, to which Bœotia was so liable, were not sufficient to induce the inhabitants finally to desert a country of such fertility, or to deter adventurers from endeavouring to establish themselves in it. A Phenician colony under Cadmus is said to have founded the celebrated city of Thebes. It appears indeed that, in process of ages, Bœotia, as well as Thessaly, became less subject to those desolating inundations. A principal relief was derived, according to Strabo, from the accidental forming of a subterranean opening, by which the river Cephissus, and the overflowings of the lake Copais, formerly destitute of any known vent, were discharged into the sea. No part of Greece was more fruitful in matter for fable and poetry than Thebes. The stories of Cadmus himself, of Semele, Bacchus, Antiope, Zethus, Amphion, Amphitryon, Alcmena, Hercules, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, Polynices, may be read with pleasure and advantage in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, but

Strabo, l. iii. p. 491.
Hæcat. Hellen. encom.

but scarcely elsewhere. From them however we may collect that Thebes was, in this remote age, one of the most flourishing and powerful cities of Greece. The war which it sustained against the seven chiefs, authenticated to us by Hesiod and Homer, and made illustrious by the tragedy of Æschylus, and the epic poem of Statius, is the first instance of a league among Grecian princes, and of any thing approaching to regular war.

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Hesiod. Op. &
Di. l. i. v. 169.
Iliad. l. iv.
v. 377. l. vi.
v. 223. &
l. xiv. v. 114.
Odys. l. xv.
v. 247.

The ÆTOLIANS were, in these early times, not inferior to their neighbours in civilization, or in consequence among the Grecian people. Poetry has immortalized their heroes Tydeus, Meleager, and others. Homer adverts in two lines, strongly marked by that power, which he singularly possessed, of expressing the deepest pathetic in the simplest terms, to the catastrophe of the family of Æneus, king of the country, as to a story well known among his cotemporaries. Thoas, commander of the Ætolian troops at the siege of Troy, is represented not only as a leader of general merit, but for his eloquence remarkable. Hereafter we shall find great inferiority in the comparative progress of the Ætolians. The peculiar dangers of their seas, especially of the passage from the east round the capes of Peloponnesus, very much excluded them from the commerce of the more civilized nations. The adjoining people of Acarnania, alone of all the Greeks, had not the honor of partaking in the Trojan war; and, for some centuries after that event, these western provinces had little communication with the rest of Greece. Phocis, Doris, and Locris, are also without objects of history; but Attica, were it only for its subsequent fame, will demand some notice of its early traditions.

Iliad. l. ii.
v. 641.

Iliad. l. xv.
v. 284.

Strabo, l. viii.
Wood on Ho-
mer.

Ogyges has had the reputation of being the first king of ATTICA; and chronologers have undertaken even to fix the time of his reign. It is set by some above two hundred, and by the most moderate a hundred and fifty years before the next event, and even before the next name of a man recorded in Attic history. But we have no assurance that even the name of Ogyges was known to the older Gre-

Flair's Ta-
ble.
Chronol. Ta-
ble in 1st
Vol. of Hist.
of Greece by
Cotin. De-
preaux.

cian

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cian authors *. If anything can be gathered from the traditions concerning such a personage, reported by later writers of best authority, it is that, at some period too far beyond connected history for any calculation of its date, a flood, desolating the rich fields of Eœotia over which he reigned, drove many of the inhabitants to establish themselves in the adjoining country of Attica; hilly, rocky, and little fruitful; yet preferable to the mountainous tracts every other way surrounding their former settlements. Both

Strabo, l. ix.

P. 407.

Pausan. l. ix.

c. 24.

Strabo and Pausanias mention a tradition, that anciently there had been towns in Bœotia called Athens and Eleusis, which had been overwhelmed by a deluge. But in the very early ages we find the same names given to various places, often widely distant; a circumstance probably owing to the frequency and extent of migration, while the variety of language over the world was little. Thus, beside the Bœotian Thebes and the vast capital of Upper Egypt, there were towns of the same name in Pamphylia, in Mysia, and in Thessaly: the name of Larissa was yet more common through Greece and Asia Minor; and, beside the Argos in Peloponnesus, there was an Argos in Thessaly, another in Acarnania, and a fourth in Italy. Strabo says that Bœotia was anciently called Ogygia †. To the time of Pausanias one of the gates of Thebes in Bœotia was called the Ogygian gate: but the early Æschylus gives the epithet Ogygian to Thebes on the Nile; whence it seems most likely that Egypt was its original country.

Strabo, l. ix.

P. 449.

Pausan. l. ix.

c. 8.

Æschyl. Pers.

v. 39.

With Ogyges, however, even rumor of events in Attica ceases, till Cecrops became prince of the province; leading thither, according to the most received and probable accounts, a colony from Egypt.

* Ogyges, I believe, is not mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, or even Strabo; to all of whom apparently, he must have occurred as an object of mention, had his story been at all known in their times, or, at least, had it had any credit.

† He adds, that it was then under the government of Cecrops. It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Mr. Bryant,

that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the singular signified a people, as Israel often means the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Grecian tradition. The names Cecrops, Cranaus, Cadmus, and others, open wide fields for conjecture, in which, however, it will be little proper for the historian to expatiate.

According

According to every account, he found the natives a most wild and ignorant people ; a circumstance, however, far from adverse to his purpose of forming a settlement. The country also, tho not offering the most alluring prospect to the vulgar covetousness of the age, was yet, to the more informed and penetrating eye, far from uninviting. On the verge of a plain, watered by two small streams, a haven presented itself, commodious for the vessels of the time. Between the streams, near their junction, and about three miles from the shore, a rock, rising nearly perpendicular on all sides, had every advantage for a fortified post. Mountains, but not of that formidable height common through Greece, at some distance surrounded the plain ; which, though not of the first fertility, appeared yet not adverse to cultivation. Cecrops occupied the rock ; and, how far by force how far by persuasion we are not at all informed, he extended his dominion over the whole tract afterward called Attica. He divided this territory into twelve districts, with a principal town, or rather perhaps village, in each, where he caused justice to be administered according to some salutary laws which he established ; and he taught his subjects a more regular and effectual mode of defence against the incursions of the Bæotians, their only neighbours, from which even their poverty did not exempt them ; for in all times neighbour and enemy have, in the language of politics, been nearly synonymous. The fortress, which he made his residence, was from his own name called Cecropia, and was peculiarly recommended to the patronage of the Egyptian goddesses, whom the Greeks worshipped by the name of Athena, and the Latins of Minerva. Many, induced by the neighbourhood of the port, and expecting security both from the fortress and from its tutelary deity, erected their habitations around the foot of the rock ; and thus arose early a considerable town which, from the name of the goddesses, was called Athenai, or, as we after the French have corrupted it, ATHENS.

Strabo, l. ix.
P. 397.
Plutarch.
Thest.

This account of the rise of Athens, and of the origin of its government, tho possibly a village, and even a fortress, may have

F

existed

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SECT. III.Strabo, l. ix.
P. 392.

existed there before Cecrops, is supported by a more general concurrence of traditionary testimony, and more complete consonancy to the rest of history, than is often found for that remote age*. The subsequent Attic annals are far less satisfactory. Strabo declines the endeavour to reconcile their inconsistencies; and Plutarch gives a strong picture of the uncertainties and voids which occurred to him in attempting to form a history from them. ‘As geographers,’ he says, ‘in the outer parts of their maps, distinguish those countries which lie beyond their knowledge with such remarks as these, ‘All here is dry, and desert sand, or marsh darkened with perpetual fog, or Scythian cold or frozen sea; so of the earliest history we may say, All here is monstrous and tragical land, occupied only by poets and fabulists.’ If this apology was necessary, even from Plutarch, for such an account as could in his time be collected of the life of Theseus, none can now be wanting for omitting all disquisition concerning the four or seven kings, for even their number is not ascertained, who are said to have governed Attica from Cecrops to Ægeus, father of that hero. The fame of Amphitryon indeed,

* In an ingenious dissertation on Grecian mythology, by Dr. S. Musgrave, it has been endeavoured to prove that Cecrops was a native Greek, and that the religion of Athens was not derived from Egypt. Other works, however, of deeper inquiry, abundantly support the contrary positions; particularly Blackwell’s *Life of Homer*, Monboddo on *Language*, Bryant’s *Ancient Mythology* (1), and Pownall on the *Study of Antiquities*. That the Athenians were a mixed people, we learn not only from many passages of Herodotus, scarcely to be questioned, but also from the direct testimony of Thucydides, which must be esteemed unquestionable. The early communication between Greece and Egypt is also established beyond contradiction; and that this intercourse operated powerfully upon Grecian religion is not reasonably to be doubted. Herodotus expressly mentions not only the belief of gods, but the practice of religious ceremonies imported from Egypt into

Greece, and in his time performed in the same manner in both countries. We may easily conceive Attic vanity in later times hurt by the idea that the founder of Athens was an Egyptian, and that even their tutelary deity, whom the Athenians were fond of esteeming their peculiar protectress, was borrowed. Both facts militated with their title of *Autochthones*, which, in the decline of their glory, comparing themselves with the numerous Grecian states of later fame, and colonies of known date, they vainly assumed. But Thucydides, if he had any respect for that title, had certainly no faith in it; and when Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, and Diodorus, who all travelled into Egypt purposely to inform themselves upon such subjects, agree in representing the Athenian Minerva as the same goddess peculiarly worshipped at Sais in Egypt, it does not appear what can authorize a modern to controvert it.

(1) See particularly vol. I. p. 183.

whose

whose name we find in the list, excites a reasonable curiosity: but as it is not in his government of Athens that he is particularly an object of history, we shall defer farther mention of him.

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Various, uncertain, and imperfect then as the accounts were which passed to posterity concerning the early Attic princes, we are yet assured by Thucydides, that Attica was the province of Greece in which population first became settled, and where the earliest progress was made toward civilization. Being nearly peninsular, it lay out of the road of emigrants and wandering freebooters by land; and its rocky soil, supporting few cattle, afforded small temptation to either. The produce of tillage was of less easy removal, and the gains of commerce were secured within fortifications. Attica therefore grew populous, not only from the security which the natives thus enjoyed, but from a conflux of strangers from other parts of Greece: for when either foreign invasion or intestine broil occasioned anywhere necessity of emigration, the principal people commonly resorted to Athens, as the only place of permanent security, and where strangers of character, able by their wealth or their ingenuity to support themselves and benefit the community, were easily admitted to the privileges of citizens.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 2.

Thucyd. *ibid.*

But, as population increased, the simple forms of government and jurisprudence established by Cecrops were no longer equal to their purpose. Civil wars arose: the country was invaded by sea: Erechtheus, called by later authors Erichthonius, and by the poets styled Son of the Earth, acquired the sovereignty, bringing, according to some not improbable reports, a second colony from Egypt*.

Thucyd. l. ii.
c. 15.
Homer. *Iliad*.
l. ii. v. 548.
Diodor. *Sic*.
l. i. c. 29.

* It is clear, as Sir Isaac Newton has observed, that Homer describes (1), under the name of Erechtheus, the same prince whom the chronologers, and even Pausanias, would distinguish from Erechtheus by the name of Erichthonius. The name of Erichthonius, as an Athenian, is mentioned by Plato (2); but with no more authority for inserting it in the

list of Athenian kings, than the name of Erichthon, which occurs in the same passage. On the contrary, as Sir Isaac has further justly observed (3), Plato himself has called that prince Erechtheus, whom later writers call Erichthonius. Nor is there any appearance of the second Cecrops and the second Pandion being known to the earlier Grecian writers, or even

(1) *Iliad*. l. ii. v. 54*.

(2) *Critias*. p. 110. t. iii. ed. Serran.

(3) *Chronol.* p. 144.

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Strabo, l. vii.

P. 321.

Pausan. l. i.

c. 38.

Eumolpus, with a body of Thracians, about the same time established himself in Eleusis. When, a generation or two later, Ægeus, cotemporary with Minos, succeeded his father Pandion in the throne, the country seems to have been well-peopled, but the government ill-constituted and weak. Concerning this prince, however, and his immediate successor, tradition is more ample; and, tho' abundantly mixed with fable, yet in many instances apparently more authentic than concerning any other persons of their remote age. Plutarch has thought a history of Theseus, son of Ægeus, not unfit to hold a place among his parallel lives of the great men of Greece and Rome; and we find his account warranted in many points by strong corresponding testimony from other ancient authors of various ages. The period also is so important in the annals of Attica, and the accounts remaining altogether go so far to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the times, that it may be proper to allow them some scope in our narration.

Plut. Theseus.

Ægeus, king of Athens, tho' an able and spirited prince, yet, in the divided and disorderly state of his country, not without difficulty maintained his situation. When past the prime of life he had the misfortune to remain childless, tho' twice married; and a faction headed by his apparent heirs, the numerous sons of Pallas his younger brother, gave him unceasing disturbance. Thus urged he went to Delphi to implore information from the oracle how the blessing of children might be obtained. Receiving an answer which, like most of the oracular responses, was unintelligible, his next concern was to find some person capable of explaining to him the will of the deity thus mysteriously declared. Among the many establishments which Pelops had procured for his family throughout Peloponnesus, was the small town and territory of Træzene, on the

to Trogius Pompeius, if we may trust his epitomizer (1); and tho' Pausanias thought he had discovered authority for them, yet the very manner in which he relates the succession

of Athenian kings shows that what he reports was before little known, and remained for him, in a very late age, to investigate.

(1) Justin. l. ii. c. 6.

coast opposite to Athens, which he put under the government of his son Pittheus. To this prince Ægeus applied. He was not only in his own age eminent for wisdom, but his reputation remained even in the most flourishing period of Grecian philosophy; yet so little was he superior to the ridiculous, and often detestable superstition of his time, that, in consequence of some fancied meaning in the oracle which even the superstitious Plutarch confesses himself unable to comprehend, he introduced his own daughter Æthra to an illicit commerce with Ægeus.

Before Cecrops, if we may believe traditions very generally received in the polished ages, the people of Attica were in knowledge and civilization below the wildest savages discovered in modern times. The most necessary arts, and the most indispensable regulations of society, were unknown to them. Marriage was introduced by Cecrops: the culture of corn is said to have been of later date. But the colonies from Egypt, Phenicia, and Thrace quickly made the Atticans a new people. At a period far beyond connected history we find all the principal oriental tenets and maxims of society firmly established among them. Marriage was in high honor; virginity respectable; infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful; polygamy unknown; but concubinage for a husband as lawful as it was common; bastardy no stain upon children; divorces little heard of. Ægeus had a wife living at the time of his visit to Pittheus; and marriage seems, on that occasion, to have been intended by no party. Æthra, however, proved shortly pregnant; while the affairs of Attica, in the utmost confusion, required the immediate return of Ægeus. His departure from Trœzene is marked by an action which, to persons accustomed to consider modern manners only, may appear unfit to be related but in a fable, yet is really so consonant to the manners of the times, and so characteristic of them, as to demand the notice of the historian. He privately led Æthra to a sequestered spot, where was a small cavity in a rock. Depositing there

Justin. l. ii.
c. 6.

Plutarch.
Thes.
Pausan. l. i.
c. 27.

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there a hunting-knife * and a pair of sandals, he covered them with a marble fragment of enormous weight. Then addressing Æthra, ' If,' said he, ' the child you now bear should prove a boy, let the removal of this stone be one day the proof of his strength : when he can effect it, send him with the tokens contained under it to ' Athens.'

Pitheus, well knowing the genius and the degree of information of his subjects and fellowcountrymen, thought it not too gross an imposition to report that his daughter was pregnant by the god Poseidon, or, as we usually call him, with the Latins, Neptune, the tutelary deity of the Træzenians. A similar expedient seems indeed to have been often successfully used to cover the disgrace which, even in those days, would otherwise attend such irregular amours in a lady of high rank, though women of lower degree appear to have derived no dishonor from concubinage with their superiors. Theseus was the produce of the singular connection of Æthra with Ægeus. He was carefully educated under the inspection of his grandfather, and gave early proofs of uncommon vigor both of body and mind. When he had attained manhood, his mother, in pursuance of the injunction of Ægeus, unfolding to him the reality of his parentage, conducted him to the rock where his father's tokens were deposited. He removed the stone which covered them with a facility sufficiently indicating that superior bodily strength so necessary, in those days, to support the pretensions of high birth ; and, thus encouraged, she recommended to him to carry them to Ægeus at Athens. This proposal perfectly suited the temper and inclination of Theseus ; but when he was farther advised to go by sea, on account of the shortness and safety of the passage, piracy being about this time

* The Greeks usually carried two weapons of the sword kind, one called *ἐπίς*, the other *μάχαιρα*, very different one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by the word sword. The Xiphos was a large broadsword ; the Machaira was but a large knife, and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon. Plutarch, who often narrates, and sometimes even argues carelessly, in

describing the depositing of the weapon by Ægeus, apparently thinking only of the great deeds that were to be done with it, calls it the Xiphos. The story which he afterward relates made it necessary that it should become the Machaira. For authority for the distinction Homer's Iliad may be seen, b. iii. v. 271. b. xi. v. 843. & b. xiv. v. 252.

suppressed by the naval power of Minos, king of Crete, he positively refused.

The journey by land was more than four times longer, and highly dangerous. That age, says Plutarch, produced men of extraordinary dexterity, of extreme swiftness, of unwearied strength; who used these natural advantages for no good purpose, but placed their enjoyment in the commission of insult, outrage, and cruelty; esteeming the commendations bestowed upon modesty, righteousness, justice and benevolence, as proceeding from fear to injure, or dread of receiving injury, and little becoming the powerful and the bold. This seems a picture of all countries, where, with a competency of inhabitants, a regular and vigorous government is wanting. Five centuries ago, it would have suited England, France, and all western Europe. It agrees so perfectly with all the accounts remaining of early Greece, and particularly those of Homer, whose testimony is unquestionable, and of Thucydides, the most authoritative of any subsequent writer, that we may hence conclude the poetical stories of the golden age, and the reign of Saturn, were not originally Grecian, but derived from the East*. This turbulent state of things produced also nearly the same consequences in Greece, as since in western Europe. It is amid anarchy and desolation that great virtues, as well as great vices, have the strongest incentives to exertion, and the most frequent opportunities of becoming conspicuous. While governments were unable to repress outrages, individuals generously undertook the glorious task. Afterward societies were formed for the purpose. Thus arose the Italian republics, the free cities of Germany, and the corporations throughout Europe; and by the same necessity the several towns of Greece were driven to form themselves

Robertson's
Introd. to the
History of
Charles V.

* Hesiod's brazen age (1) so exactly corresponds with Plutarch's account of the age of Theseus, that it seems evidently a description of the same times in the same country. But if the mythological passages with which it is

connected should appear to any to lessen its authority, Homer will abundantly make good the deficiency: a passage in the xviii. book of the *Odyssey*, v. 139, is particularly to the purpose.

(1) *Op. & Di.* l. i. v. 142.

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into regular independent states. Through the greatest part of modern Europe, the feudal subordination had efficacy enough to keep the otherwise disjointed members of the several great kingdoms united under one head; till the progress of civilization and science enabled legislation to form of the whole one harmonized and vigorous body. In Greece, such a bond of union being wanting, every town sought absolute independency as essential to freedom and equal government. In modern Italy also, which in some material circumstances of the feudal connection differed from the rest of Europe, independency was ardently desired by the commonwealths, and they attained it. The age of Theseus was the great era of those heroes, to whom the knights errant of the Gothic kingdoms afterward bore so close a resemblance. Hercules was his near relation. The actions of that extraordinary personage had been for some years the subject of universal conversation, and were both an incentive and a direction to young Theseus in the road to fame. After having destroyed the most powerful and atrocious freebooters throughout Greece, Hercules was, according to Plutarch, now gone into Asia; and those disturbers of civil order, whom his irresistible might and severe justice had driven to conceal themselves, took advantage of his absence to renew their violences. Being not obscure and vagabond thieves, but powerful chieftains, who openly defied law and government, the dangers to be expected from them were well known at Træzene. Theseus, however, persevered in his resolution to go by land: alledging that it would be shameful, if, while Hercules was traversing land and seas to repress the common disturbers of mankind, he should avoid those at his door; disgracing his reputed father by an ignominious flight over his own element, and carrying to his real father, for tokens, a bloodless weapon, and sandals untrodden, instead of giving proofs of his high birth by actions worthy of it.

Plutarch.
Thes.

Plutarch.
Thes.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 5.

Thus determined he began his journey, with what attendants we are not informed. He had not, however, proceeded far, before he
had

had occasion to exercise his valor. Periphetes was a chief of the Epidaurian mountains, famous for his robberies. Attacking Theseus, he fell by his hand. The Corinthian isthmus was a spot particularly favorable to the purpose of freebooters. Simmis had now his station there. He also attacked Theseus, and was slain. The neighbourhood of Crommyon, on the isthmus, was at this time infested by a wild sow of enormous size and uncommon fierceness; or, as some have reported, by a female leader of robbers, whose gross manners occasioned to her the appellation of sow. The name Phæa, attributed to her by both, seems to favor the latter opinion. Whatever the pest was, Theseus has the credit of having delivered the country from it. Proceeding in his journey along the mountainous coast of the Saronic gulph, he still found every fastness occupied by men, who, like many of the old barons of the western European kingdoms, gave protection to their dependents, and disturbance to all beside within their reach, making booty of whatever they could master. His valor, however, and his good fortune procured him the advantage in every contest, and carried him safe through all dangers, tho he found nothing friendly till he arrived on the bank of the river Cephissus, in the middle of Attica. Here he met some people of the country, who saluted him in the usual terms of friendship to strangers. Judging himself now past the perils of his journey, he requested to have the accustomed ceremony of purification from blood performed upon him, that he might with propriety join in sacrifices and other religious rites. The courteous Atticans readily complied, and afterward entertained him at their houses. An ancient altar commemorating this meeting, and dedicated to Jupiter, with the epithet of Meilichius, the friendly, or kind, remained to the time of Pausanias*.

Strabo, l. ix.
p. 391.
Diodor. Sic.
l. iv. c. 61.
Plut. Thei.
Pausan. l. i.
c. 44. l. ii.
c. 1.

Pausan. l. i.
c. 37.
Plutarch.
Thei.

When Theseus arrived at Athens, Ægeus, already approaching toward dotage, was governed by the Colchian princess Medea, so famous in poetry, who, in her flight from Corinth, had

* Pausanias travelled through Greece in the reign of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded to the Roman empire in the year after Christ 151.

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prevailed on him to afford her protection. At the instigation of this abandoned woman he invited Theseus, as an illustrious but dangerous stranger, to a feast, intending to poison him. But Theseus, drawing his hunting-knife, as it seems was usual, to carve the meat before him, was presently recognized by Ægeus. The old king, embracing his son, acknowledged him before the company, and summoning an assembly of the people, presented Theseus as their prince. The heroic youth, the fame of whose exploits, so suited to acquire popularity in that age, had already prepossessed the people in his favor, was received with warm tokens of general satisfaction. But the party of the sons of Pallas was powerful : their disappointment was equally great and unexpected ; and no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their wishes by other means, they withdrew from the city, collected their adherents, and returned in arms. The tide of popular inclination, however, now ran so violently toward Theseus, that some even of their confidants were drawn away with it. A design which they had formed to surprize the city was discovered to their adversaries ; part of their troops were in consequence cut off ; the rest dispersed, and the faction was completely quelled.

Quiet being thus restored to Athens, Theseus sought every opportunity to increase the popularity he had acquired. Military fame was the mean to which his active spirit chiefly inclined him ; but, as the state had now no enemies, he exercised his valor in the destruction of wild beasts, and added not a little to his reputation by delivering the country from a savage bull, which had done great mischief in the neighbourhood of Marathon. A report went, congenial to the superstition of the age, that this furious animal was the minister of vengeance of the god Neptune against the people of Attica. Theseus took him alive, and, after leading him in procession through the city, sacrificed him to Minerva *. If these anec-

Hæcat. Hellen. encom.
Diodor. Sic.
l. iv. c. 61.
Plutarch.
Thes.
Pausan. l. i.
c. 27.

* Diodorus says, to Apollo, and he is followed by Plutarch. It is of little consequence upon this occasion ; only it may be observed that Pausanias is generally better

authority than either ; more accurate and more candid than Plutarch, and more judicious than Diodorus.

dotes were no otherwise worthy of notice, they tend at least to characterize the times, and to mark the circumstances which gave that great estimation to bodily ability and personal courage. But there seems another view in which they are not wholly undeserving attention. In this age, and particularly in this country, where happily wild beasts are strangers, we are apt to look upon stories of destructive bulls and boars as ridiculous fables. Yet the testimony which Herodotus gives to the authenticity of them, in the first book of his history, must be allowed a very strong one. He tells us that, not long before the age in which himself lived, the Mysians, then subjects of Cræsus king of Lydia, sent a formal deputation to their monarch to request his assistance against a monstrous boar, which made great ravages in their fields, and, in their several attempts to destroy him, had done them mischief but received none. How far indeed boars were terrible animals, we may judge from a passage in Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, where they are described fighting with lions, and nearly equal in the combat. But fire-arms give us, in these times, a superiority over the brute creation, which men in the early ages were far from possessing. To this day, when a tiger shows himself about the villages of the unwarlike inhabitants of India, they apply to Europeans, if any are near, for assistance, as against an enemy which themselves are unable to cope with.

But an opportunity soon offered for Theseus to do his country more essential service, and to acquire more illustrious fame. The Athenians, in a war with Minos king of Crete, had been reduced to purchase peace of that powerful monarch by a yearly tribute of seven youths and as many virgins. Coined money was not common till some centuries after the time we are treating of; and slaves and cattle were not only the principal riches, but the most commodious and usual standards by which the value of other things was determined. A tribute of slaves, therefore, was perhaps the most convenient that Minos could impose; Attica maintaining few cattle, and those being less easily transported. The burthen was, however, borne

Plut. Thef.
Plato de Leg.
l. iv. p. 706.
t. ii. ed. Ser-
ran.
Isocrat. He-
len. encom.
Pausan. l. i.
c. 27.

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with much uneasiness by the Athenians; and the return of the Cretan ship at the usual time to demand the tribute, excited fresh and loud murmurs against the government of Ægeus. Theseus took an extraordinary step, but perfectly suitable to the heroic character which he affected, for appeasing the popular discontent. The tributary youths and virgins had been hitherto drawn by lot from the body of the people. He voluntarily offered himself as one of them. The vulgar report was, that those unfortunate victims were thrown into the famous Labyrinth built by Dædalus, and there devoured by the Minotaur, a monster, half-man and half-bull. This fable was probably no invention of the poets who embellished it in more polished ages: it is likely enough to have been devised at the very time we are treating of, and is not too preposterous even to have found credit among a people of an imagination so lively, and a judgment so uninformed as were then the Athenians. The offer of Theseus, therefore, really magnanimous, appeared thus an unparalleled effort of patriotic heroism. Ancient historians, who have endeavoured to investigate truth among the intricacies of fabulous tradition, tell us that the Labyrinth was a fortress where prisoners were usually kept, and that a Cretan general named Taurus, which in Greek signifies a bull, gave rise to the fiction of the Minotaur. There appears, however, sufficient testimony that Theseus was received by Minos more agreeably to the character of a great and generous prince, than of a tyrant who gave his captives to be devoured by monsters. But during this the flourishing age of Crete, letters were, if at all known, little used in Greece. In after times, when the Athenians bore the sway in literature, their tragedians took up the popular prejudices against Minos, whose character they vilified on every opportunity; inasmuch that, as Plutarch observes, the eulogies of the elder poets, Homer and Hesiod, in the end availed his reputation little. The particulars of Theseus's adventures in Crete, and of his return to Athens, have thus been so disguised, that even to guess at the truth is difficult. The most obvious and
natural

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v. 320.

natural interpretation of the short and rather obscure passage in which Homer, our best guide for these early ages, has mentioned them, seems to be this : Minos, surprized probably at the arrival of the Athenian prince among the tributary slaves, received him honorably, became partial to his merit, and, after some experience of it, gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage. In proceeding to Athens the princess was taken with sudden sickness ; and being landed in the island of Naxos, where Bacchus was esteemed the tutelary deity, she died there. If we add the supposition that Theseus, eager to communicate the news of his extraordinary success, proceeded on his voyage while the princess was yet living, no farther foundation would be wanting for the fables which have made these names so familiar. What alone we learn with any certainty from Athenian tradition is, that Theseus freed his country from farther payment of the ignominious and cruel tribute.

This achievement, by whatsoever means effected, was so bold in the undertaking, so complete in the success, so important and so interesting in the consequences, that it deservedly raised Theseus to the highest popularity among the Athenians. Sacrifices and processions were instituted in honor of it, and were continued while the Pagan religion had existence in Athens. The vessel in which he made his voyage was sent yearly in solemn pomp to the sacred island of Delos, where rites of thanksgiving were performed to Apollo. Through the extreme veneration in which it was held it was so anxiously preserved, that in Plato's time it was said to be still the same vessel ; tho at length its frequent repairs gave occasion to the dispute, which became famous among the sophists, whether it was or was not still the same. On the death of Ægeus, Theseus succeeded to the sovereignty with general approbation ; and showed himself not less capable of improving the state by his wisdom, than of defending it by his valor. The twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica, were become so many independent commonwealths, with scarcely any bond of union but their acknowledgment of one chief, whose authority was yet not always sufficient to keep them

Plato. Phædo.
p. 58, t. i.
ed. Serran.Thucyd. l. ii.
c. 15.
Strabo, l. ix.
p. 397.
Plutarch.
Thes.

from

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Isocrat. He-
len. encom.
Plut. Thef.

from mutual hostilities. The inconveniencies of such disunion were great and obvious, but the remedy full of difficulty. Theseus, however, undertook it, and effected that change which laid the foundation of the future glory of Athens, while it ranks him among the most illustrious patriots that adorn the annals of mankind. He first went through every district, and, by persuasion or authority, settled every disagreement subsisting between them. Then he proposed the abolition of all the independent magistracies, councils, and courts of justice, and the substitution of one common council of legislation, and one common system of judicature. The lower people readily came into his measures. The rich and powerful, who shared among them the independent magistracies, were more inclined to opposition. To satisfy these therefore, he promised, with a disinterestedness of which history affords few examples, to give up much of his own power; and appropriating to himself only the cares and dangers of royalty, to share with his people authority, honor, wealth, all that is commonly most valued in it. Few were inclined to resist so equitable a proposal: the most selfish and most obstinate dared not. Theseus therefore proceeded quietly to new-model the commonwealth.

Isocrat. He-
len. encom.
Plut. Thef.

Thucyd. l. ii.
c. 15.
Plut. Thef.

He began with the dissolution of all the independent councils and jurisdictions in the several towns and districts, and the removal of all public business to Athens; where he built a council-hall and courts of justice, in the place (says Plutarch, who wrote about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era) where they now stand. This was the improvement of most obvious advantage: his next measure has at least the appearance of a deeper policy. Having observed that sense of weakness natural to all mankind, which induces them to look up to some superior being, known or unknown, for protection*; having remarked the effects, on the minds of his fellowcountrymen, of the various opinions held among them upon this universally interesting subject; having probably adverted parti-

* ——— Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χερσίν αἰσθόμενοι. Odyss. l. iii. v. 48.

cularly

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cularly to their superstitious attachment to the imaginary deities esteemed peculiarly tutelar of their respective towns; he wisely judged that the civil union so happily effected would be incomplete, or at least unstable, if he did not cement it by an equal union in religious concerns. It seems to have been with these views that he instituted one common feast and sacrifice in honor of the goddesses Athena, or Minerva, for all the inhabitants of Attica. This feast he called Panathenæa, the feast of all the Athenians or people of Minerva. From this time all the inhabitants of Attica esteemed themselves unitedly under the particular protection of that goddess; and it seems to have been from this time that they unitedly bore her name: for they were before called, from their country, Atticans, and sometimes, from their race, Ionians *. To this scheme of union, conceived with a depth of judgement, and executed with a moderation of temper so little to be expected in that age, the Athenians may well be said to owe all their after greatness. Without it Attica, like the adjoining province of Bœotia, would probably have contained several little republics, united only in name; each too weak to preserve dignity, or even to secure independency to its separate government; and possessing nothing so much in common as occasions for perpetual disagreement.

Thucyd. l. ii.
c. 15.
Plut. Thef.

Plutarch attributes to Theseus the honor of having been the first prince ever known to have resigned absolute power with the noble purpose to establish a free government. It appears, however, from

* Herodotus reports, that the original inhabitants of Attica were of the Pelasgian hord, and distinguished by the name of Cranaans (1); that when Cecrops became prince of the country, his subjects were called, from his name, Cecropians; and that under the reign of Erechtheus the name of Athenians first obtained. But it has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaus succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of

Cranaans, as they afterward sometimes bore that of Erechtheids from Erechtheus. Hence the modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and have proposed ingenious amendments (2). Perhaps, however, we had better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where he is treating of the early history of Attica, "Οἱτε δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὰν οἰκιστάσιν πολλὰ διαφερόντες, Strabo, l. ix. p. 392.

(1) Herodot. l. viii. c. 44.

(2) See Wesseling's Herodotus, b. viii. c. 44. note 74, 75.

the

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Strabo, l. x.
 p. 480.

Strabo, l. viii.
 p. 383.

Plut. Thef.
 Thucyd. l. i.
 c. 2.

Plut. Thef.

the whole tenor of his narration, that the Attic monarchs, whatever they might claim, were far from possessing absolute power; and from the more accurate Strabo, as indeed from every account of the Cretan constitution, the preeminence in patriotic glory appears much rather due to Minos. It is emphatically said by Strabo, that the Cretan lawgiver seems to have proposed the liberty of the subject as the great object of his institutions; and it appears every way probable that much of the noble liberality of Theseus's system was derived from that source. It may have been on better foundation asserted by Plutarch, that Theseus was the first Grecian lawgiver who established a distinction of ranks: tho even this is contradicted by Strabo, who says that Ion, son of Xuthus, had before divided the people of Attica nearly in the manner ascribed by Plutarch to Theseus. The age and actions of Ion are, however, of very uncertain historical evidence; and before Theseus we are little assured of the existence of any such political arrangement, except in Egypt. Under that prince something of the kind became the more necessary, according to Plutarch, from the number of strangers who, in consequence of public encouragement, resorted to Athens, and, conformably to ancient custom, were admitted to the rights of citizens. The whole commonwealth was therefore divided into three classes; nobility, husbandmen, and artificers. The executive and judicial powers, with the superintendency of religion, were appropriated to the former. The others enjoyed freedom and equality, and formed the legislative assembly. When his improvements were completed, Theseus, according to the policy which became usual for giving authority to great innovations and all uncommon undertakings, is said to have procured a declaration of divine approbation from the prophetic shrine of Delphi.

Thus the province of Attica, containing a triangular tract of land with two sides about sixty miles long, and the third forty, was molded into a well-united and well-regulated commonwealth, whose chief magistrate was yet hereditary, and retained the title of king.

In

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SECT. II.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 6.

In consequence of so improved a state of things, the Athenians began, the first of all the Greeks, to acquire more civilized manners. Thucydides particularly remarks that they were the first who dropped the practice, formerly general among the Greeks, of going constantly armed; and who introduced a civil dress in contradistinction to the military. This innovation, if it was not introduced by Theseus, appears to have taken place very soon after him, since it seems to have struck Homer, who marks the Athenians by the appellation long-robed Ionians*. If we may credit Plutarch, Theseus coined money, which was certainly rare in Greece two centuries after.

The rest of the history of Theseus affords little worthy of notice. It is composed of a number of the wildest adventures, many of them consistent enough with the character of the times, but very little so with what is related of the former part of his life. It seems indeed as if historians had inverted the order of things; giving to his ripper years the extravagance of his youth, after having attributed to his earliest manhood what the maturest age has seldom equalled. He is said to have lost, in the end, all favor and all authority among the Athenians, and to have died in exile. After him Menestheus, a person of the royal family, acquired the sovereignty, or at least the first magistracy with the title of king, and commanded the Athenian troops in the Trojan war.

Homer. Il.
l. ii. v. 552.

* *ἱόνες ἰσχυρίωνες*. Iliad. l. xiii. v. 685. We may wonder that the commentators on Homer, and particularly that Mr. Wood should have been at any loss to apply this name *ΙΑΩΝΕΣ*; for the scholiast says that the Athenians are meant by it: he is supported

by Strabo, b. ix. p. 392. and if there could be any doubt of their authority, it would be removed by the use which Æschylus has made of exactly the same name, calling Attica *ἱώνων γῆν*. Pers. p. 133. ed. H. Steph.

C H A P. II.

Of the early State of ASIA MINOR, and of the
T R O J A N War.

Early People of the western Parts of Asia Minor. Origin and Progress of the Trojan State. Licentious Manners of the early Ages. Early Hostilities between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian Princes: Sacrifice of Iphigeneia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan War: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their Absence: Assassination of Agamemnon. Credit due to Homer's historical evidence. Resemblance of the Trojan War to circumstances in modern History.

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*Iliad, l. v.
v. 426.
Strabo, l. vii.
p. 321.*

*Iliad, l. ii.
v. 595. &
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 350.
Herodot. l. iv.
c. 35.
Pausan. l. i.
c. 18. l. v.
c. 7. l. ix.
c. 27. & l. x.
c. 5.
Plato de Leg.
l. viii. p. 829.
t. ii. ed. Ser-
ran.*

IT appears, from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by ancient writers, that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece, were the same people. The Leleges, Caucones, and Pelasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic nations, are mentioned by Strabo as the principal names among those, whom at the same time he calls barbarians, who in earliest times occupied Greece. Homer speaks of the Thracian Thamyris contending in song with the Muses themselves in Peloponnesus. Herodotus asserts that the ancient hymns sung at the festival of Apollo at Delos, were composed by Olen, a Lycian. Pausanias says farther, that the hymns of Olen the Lycian were the oldest known to the Greeks, and that Olen was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse. It seems a necessary inference that the language both of Thrace and Lycia was Greek. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in Plato's time: and the Thracians
Thamyris,

Thamyris, or Thamyras, Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, with the Lycian Olen, were the acknowledged fathers of Grecian poetry, the acknowledged reformers of Grecian manners; those who, according to Grecian accounts, began that polish in morals, manners, and language, which in after-ages characterized the Greek, and distinguished him from the barbarian *. Olympus, the father of Grecian music, whose compositions, which Plato calls divine, retained the highest reputation even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian †. We find moreover Pelops, a fugitive Phrygian prince, marrying a princess and acquiring a kingdom in Peloponnesus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, is said in the same manner to have acquired the kingdom of Lycia, in Asia Minor. Herodotus remarks, that the Lydian laws and manners, even in his time, very nearly resembled the Greek; and the Pamphylians were so evidently a Grecian people, that he endeavours to account for their descent from European Greeks. The Thracian Greeks were probably overwhelmed in early times by the wild and fierce nations of the extensive continent to the northward of them; as many of the original Asiatic Greeks were by those multitudes from Greece itself, whose change of country is known by the names of the Ionic and Æolic migrations.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 35, & 73,
& 94.
Herodot. l.
vii. c. 91.
Strabo, l. xiv.
p. 668.

The western coast of Asia Minor is universally allowed to be one of the most delicious countries in the world; remarkable for fruitfulness of soil, and particularly excelling Greece in softness of climate. The governments formed here, in the earliest times, mostly commanded a greater extent of territory than those of Greece; an advantage which they seem to have owed not intirely to a higher degree of civilization in the people, but much to the extent of the Asiatic plains, less cut by mountains and seas into small portions with difficulty accessible from each other. But a country is happy by nature

* Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς δ' ἡμῶν κατέδειξε, Φόων τ' ἀπὸ χροῶναι.

Aristoph. Rane.

† —Μαρσύας καὶ Ὀλύμπιος ὁ Φρύγιος. Τούτων δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀνδραγαθὰ διηγεῖται, καὶ μόνον τι-

ναι, —καὶ ἔτι καὶ τὴν μὴν δούρα ἐπὶ ὡς δεῖα ὄντα. Plato. Minos. p. 218. t. 2. Ὀλύμπιος ὁ Μαρσύου μακάριος — ἄρχηγός τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. Plutarch. de Music.

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could not, without a polity very superior to what was then common, escape those miseries which the passions or the necessities of mankind were continually occasioning. The coast was nearly deserted: people civilized enough to cultivate the arts of peace withdrew from the ravages of piracy to inland tracts, less fertile and less favored by climate, but where, through the security enjoyed, some considerable sovereignties appear to have arisen at a very remote period. The first powerful settlement upon the coast, of which we are informed, was that of Troy; and the sketch which Homer has left us of the rise of this state, slight as it is and mingled with fable, is yet perhaps the clearest as well as the most genuine picture existing of the progress of population and political society in their approach to Europe. The origin of Dardanus, the acknowledged founder of the Trojan state, has been variously related; but we may best believe the testimony of Homer to the utter uncertainty of his birth and native country, delivered in the terms That he was the son of Jupiter. Thus however it appears, that the Greeks not unwillingly acknowledged consanguinity with the Trojans; for many, indeed most, of the Grecian heroes also claimed their descent from Jupiter. It is moreover remarkable that, among the many genealogies which Homer has transmitted to us, none is traced so far into antiquity as that of the royal family of Troy. Dardanus was ancestor in the sixth degree to Hector, and may thus have lived from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years before that hero. On one of the many ridges which project from the foot of the lofty mountain of Ida, in the north-western part of Asia Minor, he founded a town which, from his own name, was called Dardania. His situation commanded a narrow but fruitful plain, watered by the streams of Simois and Scamander, and stretching from the roots of Ida to the Hellespont northward, and the Ægean sea westward. His son Erichthonius, who succeeded him in the sovereignty of this territory, had the reputation of being the richest man of his age. Much of his wealth seems to have been derived from a large stock of brood mares,

Iliad. l. xx.
v. 215.

Iliad. l. xx.
v. 216.

Strabo, l. xiii.
p. 583, 584.

to the number, according to the poet, of three thousand, which the fertility of his soil enabled him to maintain, and which, by his care and judgement in the choice of stallions, produced a breed of horses superior to any of the surrounding countries. Tros, son of Erichthonius, probably extended, or in some other way improved the territory of Dardania; since the appellation by which it was known to posterity was derived from his name. With the riches the population of the state of course increased. Ilus, son of Tros, therefore ventured to move his residence from the mountain, and founded, in the plain beneath, that celebrated city which was called from his name Ilion, but which is more familiarly known in modern languages by the name of Troy, derived from his father. With the means however to defend, the temptation to attack also increased. Twice, before that war which Homer has made so famous, Troy is said to have been taken and plundered; and for its second capture, by Hercules, in the reign of Laomedon, son of Ilus, we have Homer's authority. The government however revived, and still advanced in power and splendor. Laomedon, after his misfortune, fortified his city in a manner so superior to what was common in his age, that the walls of Troy were said to be a work of the gods. Under his son Priam the Trojan state was very flourishing and of considerable extent; containing, under the name of Phrygia, the country afterward called Troas, together with both shores of the Hellespont, and the island of Lesbos*.

Strabo, l. xiii.
p. 593.

Iliad, l. v.
v. 640. & Pindar.
Olymp. viii.

Iliad, l. xxiv.
v. 544.
Strabo, l. xiii.

A frequent communication, sometimes friendly, but oftener hostile, was maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Ægean sea: each was an object of piracy more than of commerce to the inhabitants of the opposite country. Cattle and slaves constituting the principal riches of the times, men, women, and children, together

* Strabo (1) distinguishes the Trojan country by the name of Hellespontian Phrygia. It was divided by Myia from the large inland tract afterward called Phrygia, whose people are mentioned in Homer's Catalogue as allies of the Trojans coming from afar (2).

(1) b. xiii. p. 363.

(2) Iliad, l. ii. v. 862. Strabo, l. xii. p. 564.

with

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with swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, were principal objects of plunder. But scarcely was any crime more common than rapes : and it seems to have been a kind of fashion, in consequence of which leaders of piratical expeditions gratified their vanity in the highest degree, when they could carry off a lady of superior rank. How usual these outrages were among the Greeks, we may gather from the oath said to have been exacted by Tyndareus, king of Sparta, father of the celebrated Helen, from all the chieftains who came to ask his daughter in marriage : That, in case of her being stolen, they would assist in recovering her with all their power. This tradition, with many other stories of Grecian rapes, on whatsoever founded, indicates with certainty the opinion of the later Greeks, among whom they were popular, concerning the manners of their ancestors *. But it does not follow that the Greeks were more vicious than other people equally unhabituated to constant, vigorous, and well-regulated exertions of law and government. Equal licentiousness, but a few centuries ago, prevailed throughout western Europe. Hence those gloomy habitations of the ancient nobility which now excite the wonder of the traveller, particularly in the southern parts ; where, in the midst of the finest countries, he often finds them in situations so singularly inconvenient and uncomfortable, except for what was then the one great object, security, that now the houseless peasant will scarcely go to them for shelter. From the licentiousness were derived the manners, and even the virtues of the times. Hence knight-errantry and its whimsical consequences.

The expedition of Paris, son of Priam king of Troy, into Greece, appears to have been a maroding scheme, such as was then usual. We are told, indeed, that he was received very hospitably, and entertained very kindly by Menelaus, king of Sparta. But this also was consonant to the spirit of the times ; for hospitality has always been the virtue of barbarous ages : it is at this day no less charac-

Robertson
Hist. of
Charles V.

Iliad. l. iii.
v. 354.

* The story of the oath required by Tyndareus is mentioned by Thucydides in a manner that indicates it to have been both ancient and generally received. Thucyd. l. i. c. 9.

teristic of the wild Arabs than their spirit of robbery; and we know that in the Scottish Highlands robbery and hospitality equally flourished together till very lately. Hospitality, indeed, will be generally found to have flourished, in different ages and countries, very nearly in proportion to the necessity for it; that is, in proportion to the deficiency of jurisprudence, and the weakness of government. Paris concluded his visit at Sparta with carrying off Helen, wife of Menelaus, together with a considerable treasure: and whether this was effected by fraud, or, as some have supposed, by open violence, it is probable enough that, as Herodotus relates, it was first concerted, and afterward supported, in revenge for some similar injury done by the Greeks to the Trojans.

• An outrage, however, so heinously injurious to one of the greatest princes of Greece, especially if attended with a breach of the rights of hospitality, might not unreasonably be urged as a cause requiring the united revenge of all the Grecian chieftains. But there were other motives to engage them in the quarrel. The hope of returning laden with the spoil of the richer provinces of Asia was a strong incentive to leaders poor at home, and bred to rapine. The authority and influence of Agamemnon, king of Argos, brother of Menelaus, were also weighty. The spirit of the age, his own temper, the extent of his power, the natural desire of exerting it on a splendid occasion, would all incite this prince eagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. He is besides represented by character qualified to create and command a powerful league; ambitious, active, brave, generous, humane; vain, indeed, and haughty, sometimes to his own injury, yet commonly repressing those hurtful qualities, and watchful to cultivate popularity. Under this leader all the Grecian chieftains, from the end of Peloponnesus to the end of Thessaly, together with Idomeneus from Crete, and other commanders from some of the smaller islands, assembled at Aulis, a sea-port of Bœotia. The Acarnanians alone, separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains and a sea at that time little navigated, had no share in the

Thucyd. i. i.
c. 9.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 472.
ed. Paris. Auger.
Homer. Iliad. passim.

Hesiod. Op. & D. i. ii.
v. 269.

expe-

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expedition. It is said that, the fleet being long detained at Aulis by contrary winds, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia as a propitiatory offering, to obtain from the gods a safe and speedy passage to the Trojan coast. Whether this be true or no, the currency of the report, and of others of the same kind, proves that the Greeks of after-ages believed their ancestors, on momentous occasions, to have made human sacrifices *. It were however injurious to the character of Agamemnon not to mention, that he is said to have submitted to this abominable cruelty with extreme reluctance, and not until compelled by the clamors of the whole army, who were persuaded that the gods required the victim. It is even asserted that, by a humane fraud, the princess was at last saved, under favor of a report that a fawn was miraculously sent by the goddess Diana, to be sacrificed in her stead.

Pausan. l. ix.
c. 19.

Homer. *Iliad*.
l. ii.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 10.

The fleet at length had a prosperous voyage. It consisted of about twelve hundred open vessels, each carrying from fifty to a hundred and twenty men. The number of men in the whole armament, computed from the mean of those two numbers mentioned by Homer as the complement of different ships, would be something more than a hundred thousand; and Thucydides, whose opinion is of the highest authority, tells us that this is within the bounds of probability; tho, as he adds, a poet would on such a point go to the utmost of current reports. The army, having made good their landing on the Trojan coast, were so superior to the enemy as to oblige them immediately to seek shelter within the city-walls; but here the operations were at a stand. The hazards to which unfortified and solitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and freebooters, had driven the more peaceable of mankind to assemble in towns for mutual security. To erect lofty walls around those towns for defence, was then

* The sacrifice of Polyxena in the *He-cuba* of Euripides is a very remarkable instance. But it should be observed that neither Homer (1), who enumerates the daughters of Agamemnon, nor Hesiod, who mentions the assembling of the forces at Aulis, and their

waiting there during bad weather, say a word of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, or Iphi-nassa; for by this name, according to the scholiast, Homer meant the same princess called by the tragic poets Iphigeneia.

(1) *Iliad*. l. ix. v. 145.

an obvious invention, and required little more than labor for the execution. More thought, more art, more experience were necessary for forcing the rudest fortification, if defended with vigilance and courage. But the Trojan walls were singularly strong; Agamemnon's army could make no impression on them. He was therefore reduced to the method most common for ages after, of turning the siege into a blockade, and patiently waiting till want of necessities should force the enemy to quit their shelter. But neither did the policy of the times amount by many degrees to the art of subsisting so numerous an army for any length of time; nor would the revenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowledge; nor indeed would the state of things have admitted it scarcely with any wealth, or by any means. For in countries without commerce, the people providing for their own wants only, supplies can never be found equal to the support of a superadded army. No sooner therefore did the Trojans shut themselves within their walls, than the Greeks were obliged to give their principal attention to the means of subsisting their numerous forces. The common method of the times was to ravage the adjacent countries; and this they immediately put in practice. But such a resource soon destroys itself. To have therefore a more permanent and certain supply, they sent part of their army to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequent and destructive incursions of the wild people who occupied the interior of that continent. Large bodies being thus detached from the army, the remainder scarcely sufficed to deter the Trojans from taking the field again, and could not prevent succour and supplies from being carried into the town. Thus the siege was protracted to the enormous length of ten years. It was probably their success in marauding marches and pirating voyages that induced the Greeks to persevere so long. Achilles is said to have plundered no less than twelve maritime and eleven inland towns. But the same circumstances contributed to procure numerous and powerful allies to the Trojans. Not only the Asiatic states, to a great

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 11.
Iliad. l. i.
v. 306.
l. ix. v. 329.
& l. xx. v. 91
& 188.
Odys. iii. v.
106.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 11.

Iliad. l. ix.
v. 329.
Odys. l. iii.
v. 106.

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Iliad. l. ii.
v. 347.

Odyss. l. viii.
v. 492.

Wood on Ho-
mer.
Iliad. l. xx.
v. 302.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 12.

extent eastward and southward, sent auxiliary troops, but also the Thracians from Europe, and even the Macedonians. At length, in the tenth year of the war, after great exertions of valor and the slaughter of numbers on both sides, among whom were many of the highest rank, Troy yielded to its fate. Yet was it not then overcome by open force: stratagem is reported by Homer; fraud and treachery have been supposed by later writers. It was, however, taken and plundered: the venerable monarch was slain: the queen and her daughters, together with one only son remaining of a very numerous male progeny, were led into captivity. According to some, not only the city was totally destroyed, but the very name of the people from that time lost. Others however maintain, and with great appearance of reason on the authority of Homer himself, whose words upon the occasion seem indeed scarcely dubious, that Æneas reigned afterward at Troy, and his posterity after him, for some generations; and that the Trojans were not intirely expelled, or their name lost by a mixture with other people, but in consequence of the Æolic migration.

Nothing apparently so much as the elegance of ingenuity everywhere intermixed with early Grecian history has driven many to slight it as merely fabulous, who have been disposed to pay great respect to the early history of Rome; giving a credit to the solemn adulation of the grave historians of Italy to their own country, which they deny to the fanciful indeed and inaccurate, but surely honest and unflattering accounts remaining to us of elder Greece. Agamemnon we are told triumphed over Troy; and we have sufficient historical grounds to believe it. But the Grecian poets themselves universally acknowledge that it was a dear-bought, a mournful triumph. Few of the princes who survived to partake of it could have any enjoyment of their hard-earned glory in their native country. None expecting that the war would detain them so long from home, none had made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. It is indeed probable that the utmost wisdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For,

in

in the half-formed governments of those days, the constant presence of the prince, as supreme regulator, was absolutely necessary to keep the whole from running presently into utter confusion. Agamemnon himself had no sooner reached his native soil, than he was traitorously murdered. His kinsman Ægistheus had in his absence debauched his queen Clytæmnestra; and, with her assistance, had obtained such firm possession of the government, that those friends of Agamemnon who were fortunate enough to avoid falling with him, found it necessary to fly with his son Orestes, and leave the usurper in quiet possession of the throne. The misfortunes on this occasion were perhaps in general not so great to the people as to the princes. Many of these were driven to embark again with their adherents, to seek settlements in distant countries, and never to return. Every state, however, suffered. Athens alone, whose government was now approaching to a regular commonwealth, felt little from the absence of the commander of its forces. Its magistracies were all otherwise supplied.

Odys. l. i.
c. 36. & al.

Such then were the Trojan war and its consequences, according to the best of the unconnected and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. The authority, however, of the great poet as an historian has in modern times been variously estimated. Among the ancients it was less questioned. As it is of the highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight, I will mention here some of the principal circumstances of proof in its favor: others will occur hereafter. In Homer's age then, it should be remembered, poets were the only historians; from which tho it does not at all follow that poets would always scrupulously adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows, that veracity in historical narration would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion: a circumstance which the common use of written records and prose histories instantly and totally altered. The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among

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his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful testimony. Indeed the connection and the clearness of Grecian history through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear extraordinary, when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin in the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation then of this presumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof to the only point that could admit of it, his geography; which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous inquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them. From all these, with perhaps other considerations, followed what we may add in the fourth place, the credit paid to Homer's history by the most judicious prose-writers of antiquity, and among the early ones particularly by Thucydides. But the very fame of the principal persons and events celebrated by Homer seems to have led some to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring to the reader's recollection a passage in the history of the British islands, bearing so close an analogy to some of the most remarkable circumstances in Homer's history, that it affords no inconsiderable collateral support to that poet's authority as a faithful relater of facts, and painter of manners. Exploits like that of Paris were, in the twelfth century, not uncommon in Ireland. In a lower line they have been frequent there still in our days; but in that age popular opinion was so favorable to them, that even princes, like Jason and Paris, gloried in such proofs of their gallantry and spirit. Dermot, king of Leinster, accordingly formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark, king of Leitrim; and, between force and fraud, he succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark resented the affront, as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of neighbouring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the most powerful prince of Ireland, at their head. Leinster was invaded, the princess was recovered, and, after hostilities continued with various success during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom. Thus far the resemblance holds with
much

much exactness. The sequel differs: for the rape of Dervorghal, beyond comparison inferior in celebrity, had yet consequences far more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighbouring island, Henry the Second; and in return for assistance to restore him to his dominions, offered to hold them in vassalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed*.

* Mr. Hume, in his History of England, has written the name of the heroine of this story OMACH. I have followed Dr. Leland's History of Ireland, with which Mr. Hume's more abridged account, in all material cir-

cumstances, sufficiently tallies. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the Second, both relates the facts and writes the names nearly as Dr. Leland.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Religion, Government, Jurisprudence, Science, Arts, Commerce, and Manners of the early GREEKS.

SECTION I.

Of the Progress of Things from the East into Greece, and of the Religion of the early Greeks.

HOWEVER less complete than we might wish the historical information remaining to us from Homer may be, we have yet from his masterly hand a finished picture of the manners and principles of his age, domestic as well as political; which, sublime and magnificent as it is in the general outline and composition, descends at the same time, without degrading the grand whole, to so many minute particulars, as to leave our curiosity scarcely in anything ungratified. It belongs not to history to detail every circumstance

CHAP. III. stance of this entertaining and instructive tablet, which yet abounds
 SECT. I. in matter not to be left unnoticed.

But, in considering the first ages of Greece, we find our view continually led toward those earliest seats of empire and of science, which we usually call collectively the East. And here so vast and so interesting a field of inquiry presents itself, yet, like forms in distant landscape, so confused by ærial tints, and by length and intricacy of perspective, that it is not easy to determine where and how far investigation ought to be attempted, and when precisely the voice of caution should be obeyed, rather than that of curiosity. Certainly to bewilder himself will not generally be allowed to the historian as a venial error. Sometimes, however, and without far wandering from well-trodden paths, he may venture to search for some illustration of his subject in that utmost verge of history's horizon.

In all countries, and through all ages, RELIGION and Civil Government have been so connected, that no history can be given of either without reference to the other. But in the accounts remaining to us of the earliest times, the attention everywhere paid to religion, the deep interest taken in it by individuals and by communities, by people polished equally and unpolished, is peculiarly striking. A sense of dependance on some superior being seems indeed inseparable from man; it is in a manner instinct in him *. His own helplessness, compared with the stupendous powers of nature which he sees constantly exerted around him, makes the savage ever anxiously look for some being of a higher order on whom to rely: and the man educated to exercise the faculties of his mind has only to reflect on himself, on his own abilities, his own weakness, his own knowledge, his own ignorance, his own happiness, his own misery, his own beginning, and his end, to be directed not only to belief in some superior being, but also to expectation of some future state, through mere conviction that nature hath given him both a great deal more and a great deal less than were necessary to fit him for this

* — Πάντες δὲ Θεῶν χάριτι τὸ ἀνθρώπου. Homer. *Odyss.* l. iii. v. 48.

alone.

alone. Religion therefore can never be lost among mankind; but, through the imperfection of our nature, it is so prone to degenerate that superstition in one state of society, and scepticism in another, may perhaps, without impropriety, be called nature's works. The variety indeed, and the grossness of the corruptions of religion, from which few pages in the annals of the world are pure, may well on first view excite our wonder. But, if we proceed to inquire after their origin, we immediately find such sources in the nature and condition of man, that evidently nothing under a constant miracle could prevent those effects to which the history of all countries in all ages bears testimony. The fears of ignorance, the interest of cunning, the pride of science, have been the mainsprings: every human passion has contributed its addition.

A firm belief, however, both of the existence of a deity, and of the duty of communication with him, appears to have prevailed universally in the early ages. But religion was then the common care of all men; a sacerdotal order was unknown: the patriarch, or head of the family, was chief in religious as in civil concerns: a preference to primogeniture seems always to have obtained*: the eldest son succeeded regularly to the right of sacrificing, to the right of being priest of the family. When younger sons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion each of his own household, and performed the domestic sacrifices; the patriarch and his successors remaining chief priests of the tribe. This order of things passed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally over the world†. But concomitant circumstances differing in different countries, consequences of course differed. In Asia extensive empires seem almost to have grown as population ex-

Shuckford's
Connexion of
Sacred and
Profane Hi-
story, v. ii.
b. vi. p. 89.

* This it was, according to Homer, that gave Jupiter himself his right of supremacy over his brothers; and the Fates and Furies were the vindicators of that right:

Ὀὐδ' ἄς περὶ θεῶν ἑγὼν ἔμμεναι ἔμεναι,

Iliad. l. xv. v. 204.

is the observation of Iris to Neptune.

† This subject is treated diffusively, with many references to the Scriptures and to heathen authors, in the sixth book of Shuckford's *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*.

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tended. From earliest times the people were accustomed to look up to one family as presiding over national concerns, religious equally and political, by a hereditary right partaking, in public opinion, of divine authority. Ideas and habits were thus acquired congenial to despotic government: and in all the violent revolutions which that large and rich portion of the earth has undergone, the idea of attachment to a particular family, as presiding by divine appointment over both the religious and civil polity of the nation, has prevailed and prevails very extensively to this day. We have no certain account when or how the sacerdotal order of the magians arose. But it is a remarkable circumstance, of which we are informed by the most unsuspicious testimony, that by far the purest religion known among heathen nations remained in those countries from which all migration has been supposed to have originated. With extent of wandering, savage ignorance grew.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 131.

We are not without information of peculiar causes which made Egypt the great school of superstition, while it was the seat of arts and knowlege. A prodigious population was here confined within a narrow territory. Seas and deserts prevented the monarch from extending his dominion. A more refined polity than prevailed in Asia, and freer communication of rights, became indispensable. The powerful families, therefore, shared with the monarch in the superintendence of the national religion. The priesthood thus, and the nobility of the nation, were one*. By a singular policy, professions and callings were made hereditary thro all ranks of men; so that the business of every man's life was unalterably determined by his birth. Priestcraft thus, among the rest, became the inalienable inheritance of particular families. Learning was of course their exclusive property. Natural wonders, more frequent here than elsewhere, assisted in disposing the people to superstition†. With singular

Diodor. Sic.
l. i. c. 28.

* Diodorus compares the order of priests in Egypt to the order of nobles, the eupatrides, at Athens. † Τίματά τι πλεον σφι τίγεται ἢ τοῖσι ἀλλοιοῖσι, ἅπανσι ἀνθρώποισι. Herodot. l. ii.

interest to promote it, a sacerdotal nobility had singular means. Thus the superstition of Egypt, while it rose to an extravagance unknown in any other country, was also supported by a union of powers that never met elsewhere.

The circumstances of Greece differed very materially. Its inhabitants were long barbarous, and without regular government. Among wandering savages no idea could hold of a divine right inherent in any family to direct either the religious or the civil concerns of others. But if the accounts of Grecian authors are to be believed, the rude natives always readily associated with any adventurers from the civilized countries of the East. It was not difficult for these to explain the advantages of a town, where the people might find safety for their persons when danger threatened their fields; and where, meeting occasionally to consult in common, they might provide the means of a ready exertion of united strength, to repel those evils to which the unconnected inhabitants of scattered villages were perpetually exposed. A man of knowledge and experience must preside in council, and direct the execution of what had been resolved in common. A town was built and fortified, and a form of government settled. An oriental superintending was honored with the title of king. Thus appear to have arisen several of the principal Grecian cities. Constantly the king exercised supremacy in religious concerns: he was always chief priest*; and he always endeavoured to acquire the reputation of divine authority for all his establishments. But the government being thus notoriously formed by compact, the first king a stranger, equally without claim of hereditary royalty among his original fellowcountrymen, and among those in whose country he came to establish himself, no idea of indefeasible right inherent in a sovereign family could readily gain here. The compact alone could be supposed or pretended to be divinely authorized. The person of the king had no privileges but by the gift of

* See every sacrifice in the *Iliad* and Nestor's sacrifice at Pyles. *Odys.* b. iii. v. 404 *Odyssey*; particularly the minute detail of —463.

CHAP. III.
SECT. I.Shuckford's
Connexion.
Warburton's
Div. Leg.

the people. His civil consequence therefore depended upon his abilities and conduct. His religious character was otherwise estimated. Here not the person or family, but the title and office, were held sacred. It is remarkable that Athenian and Roman superstition, without any connection between the people, should have agreed so exactly in the extraordinary circumstance, that after the abolition of royalty among both, and while the very name of king was abhorred as a title of civil magistracy or military command, yet equally the title and the office were scrupulously retained for the administration of religious ceremonies. It has been observed that a priesthood was first established among the Jews when their government became a regular commonwealth. Such appropriation of religious functions, if the ministers are confined to their proper object, is perhaps not less advantageous to civil freedom than necessary to the maintenance of religion.

Herodot. l. ii.
c. 53.

Proceeding from this cursory view of the progress of things from the East, to the consideration of Homer's highly touched picture of human life in his own age and country, his RELIGION will attract our first attention. It was the opinion of Herodotus that Homer, together with Hesiod, principally settled the religious tenets of their fellowcountrymen, which before were totally vague, floating about partially as they happened to arise, or to be imported by foreigners, particularly Egyptians: and indeed if ever there was any standard of Grecian orthodoxy, it must be looked for in the works of those two poets. But the very early inhabitants of Greece had a religion far less degenerated from original purity. This curious and interesting fact is preserved to us inadvertently by the historian just mentioned; who relates, on the authority of the priests of Dodona, that anciently the Pelasgians, ancestors of the Greeks, and of whom extensive traces remain in the traditions concerning all the countries surrounding the Ægean sea, sacrificed and prayed to gods to whom they gave no name or distinguishing appellation*; 'for,' says he, 'they had

* ——— *ἱερὰ ἄνῃσι θεῶν ὀνόματι*. Herodot. l. ii. c. 52.

* never

CHAP. III.
SECT. I.Plato, *Cratyl.*
p. 397. t. i.
ed. Serran.Hesiod, *Op.*
& *Di.* l. i.
v. 109.

‘ never heard of any, but they called them gods, as the disposers and ‘ rulers of all things *.’ Indeed all the Grecian writers on the antiquities of their country appear to have been aware of the late introduction of the belief in those numerous deities to whom the poetical genius of Greece has given immortality. Plato supposes that the sun, moon, stars and earth, had previously been the only objects of Grecian worship; as they were, he says, of that of most of the barbarous nations in his time. But in addition to the strong testimony of the Dodonæan priests reported by Herodotus, we find in the works of Hesiod traces of oriental tradition evidently older than any worship of the celestial luminaries. His golden age, plainly foreign to all Grecian history, bears remarkable analogy to the scripture account of the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall. ‘ The first race of men,’ he says, ‘ lived like gods in perfect happiness, exempt from labor, from old age, and from all evil. The ‘ earth spontaneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest abundance. Dying at length without pain, they became happy and ‘ beneficent spirits, appointed by the divine wisdom to the royal ‘ function of superintending the future race of men, watching their ‘ good and evil ways.’ His silver age is not less remarkably consonant to the scripture account of the antediluvian world after the fall: ‘ The second race of men,’ he proceeds, ‘ were like those of the ‘ golden age neither in nature nor in moral character. They scarcely ‘ reached manhood in a hundred years; yet not thus less subject ‘ to pain and folly, they died early. They were unceasing in violence and injustice toward one another, nor would they duly reverence the immortal gods. Jupiter therefore hid this race in his ‘ anger, because they honored not the blessed gods of heaven.’ In speaking of the third race of men, which he calls the brazen race,

* Herodotus seems to have supposed the Greek name for God to have been derived from a Greek verb, signifying to place or dispose: Other Grecian authors have imagined

other etymologies for it: but it seems rather probable, that it had a more ancient origin than any derivation within the Greek language.

CHAP. III.
SECT. I.

the poet at length comes home to his own country, describing exactly that state of things of which Plutarch has given a more particular account in his life of Theseus*.

We have large testimony that POLYTHEISM was principally derived from Egypt†. The colonists, who passed from that polished country to savage Greece, would of course communicate their religious tenets‡. The rude natives listened greedily to instruction on a subject in which they felt themselves deeply interested; and thought it an important improvement to be able to name many gods, whose stories were related to them, instead of sacrificing to one only, without a name, and of whose nature they had no satisfactory conception. For the unity of God makes a name useless; where many gods are believed, distinguishing appellations will be given of course. Nor is the transition violent, for ignorant people, from a vague idea of one omnipresent deity, to the belief of a separate divine essence in different places, and in every different thing. On the contrary, the popular superstitions of almost all nations show it congenial to the human mind; which wants exercise of its powers to enable it to exalt thought to the conception of one almighty and boundless Being. Polytheism therefore once disseminated, the lively imagination of the Greeks would not be confined within the limits of Egyptian instruction. Their country, with fewer objects of wonder, abounded with incentives to fancy which Egypt wanted. Hence, beside Juno, Vesta, Themis, whom they added to the principal divinities derived from the marshy banks of the Nile, every Grecian mountain acquired its Oreads, every wood its Dryads, every fountain its Naiad, the sea its Tritons and its Nereids, and every river its god: the variety of the seasons produced the Hours; and the Muses and the Graces were the genuine offspring of the genius of the people. Thus were

Herodot. l. ii.
c. 50.

Hesiod. Op.
& Di. l. i.
v. 75.

* See p. 39 of this Volume.

† See Warburton's Divine Legation, Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mytho-

logy, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities.

‡ See on this subject Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus.

divinities

divinities so multiplied before Homer's time, that nobody any longer undertook to say how many there were not.

And now the Grecian gods were changed from the one almighty parent of good, not less in attributes than in number. Jupiter, the chief of them, was not omnipotent: he was under the strict controul of Fate. Omnipresence was not among his attributes, nor was he all-seeing; and as perfect goodness was nowhere to be found in Homer's heaven, so there was by no means perfect happiness there. The inferior deities were commonly more disposed to disturb than assist the government of the chief; who is represented without the least confidence in their wisdom and right intentions, placing his whole dependance on his own strength only. Hence alone also is derived their reverence for him; not that he is wise and good, but that he is strong. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, speaks of the sovereign of the gods, calling him at the same time her father, in the reproachful and debasing terms of 'raging with an evil mind in perpetual opposition to her inclinations.' The same goddess is represented advising Pandarus to endeavour to bribe Apollo with a promise of a hecatomb, to assist him in assassinating Menelaus contrary to the faith of a solemn treaty: and even Jupiter himself joins with that goddess and Juno in prompting this deed, in which the foulest perjury and basest treachery go united. We cannot but wonder to find the goddesses of wisdom and the sovereign of the gods thus employed. Yet the belief that villainy, so often seen triumphant, was frequently favored by some superior power, or however that the mere crime against the neighbour seldom or never offended the deity, appears by no means unnatural. It is worthy of remark, that a religion which acknowledges only one God has not taught the Turks to reason more justly. 'Whatever the intention may have been,' says the elegant and judicious Busbequius, in the account of his embassy at the Ottoman court, 'if the event is prosperous they look upon God as 'authorizing the deed:' in proof of which he relates some remarkable

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

Iliad. l. xiii.
v. 1.

Iliad. l. viii.
v. 5.
Iliad. l. viii.
v. 210.

Iliad. l. viii.
v. 361.

Iliad. l. iv.
v. 101.

See *Odyss.* l.
iii. v. 273.
& l. xvi. v.
398.

*De Legatione
Turcica,* c.
pist. iv.

able

CHAP. III. able occurrences in Turkish history, and a conversation which he
 SECT. I. held concerning them with a Turk of rank.

Thus imperfect as the chief of the Grecian heaven is represented, still that the Greeks derived their first notion of him from the power of a king of Crete, is an opinion as unauthorized by the oldest poets and historians as it is in itself improbable, not to say impossible. Homer's invocation to the Dodonæan Pelasgian Jupiter suffices indeed alone to refute the idea. But that a king of Crete, like Alexander and the Cæsars in more enlightened ages, may have assumed, or may have been complimented with a title usually appropriated to the deity, is sufficiently likely. Whence indeed the Greek name Zeus (which in the common form of invocation gave the Latin Jupiter) was derived, is an inquiry that cannot end in certainty. Plato says it is a name not easy to be understood; and his explanation of it will scarcely satisfy any one. It seems however fully consistent with the analogy of letters, as well as from many circumstances highly probable, that the Greek and Latin names for the deity, as they were variously inflected, Theos, or rather Theo, Deo, Dia, Zeu, Jove, and the Hebrew which we write Jehovah, tho in the oriental orthography it has only four letters, were originally one name*.

Blad. l. xvi.
v. 233.

Plato. Cratylus, p. 396.
t. i. ed. Scr-
ran.

Ideas concerning that Fate, which was supposed to decide the lot of gods equally as of men, could not but be very indeterminate. Fate was personified sometimes as one, sometimes as three sister-beings. The three furies, or avenging deities, seem to have been sometimes considered as the same with the fates, sometimes as attending powers. Either or both, for the superstition which occasioned a dread of naming them makes it difficult to distinguish, were often mentioned by the respectful title of the Venerable Goddesses†.

* See *Monde Primitif Analysé et Comparé*, par M. Court de Gebelin, vol. i. p. 166. Concerning the analogy of letters, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities may be consulted. The modern Greeks pronounce delta like the English *th* in *this*, *there*. The ancient La-

cedemonians often pronounced and even wrote sigma for theta. See the account of inscriptions found in Laconia by the Abbé Fourmount, in the 15th vol. of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, p. 395.

† *Σεβασταὶ θεαί*, venerandæ deæ.

They

They seem indeed to have been the only Grecian deities who were supposed incapable of doing wrong. Of evil spirits, in the modern sense of the term, the Greeks appear to have had no idea. But such was the acknowledged imperfection of the Grecian heaven, that Hesiod expressly declares it to have been the office of the fates and furies 'to punish the transgressions of men and gods*.' It seems to have been supposed the principal office of Jupiter to superintend the performance of the decrees of fate; and for that purpose to keep a watchful eye over the ways both of mortals and immortals. Fate therefore being but a blind power, and Jupiter a very imperfect divinity, we shall the less wonder to find it frequently mentioned by Homer as possible; which yet appears a strange inconsistency, that things contrary to fate may be done, not only by gods but even by men†.

Idolatry, as far as appears from Homer, was in his time unknown in Greece; and even temples, tho those of Minerva at Athens and Apollo at Delphi seem to have been of some standing, were not common. Sacrifices were performed, as by the Jewish patriarchs, on altars raised in open air; and prayers were addressed, tho to many,

Iliad. l. ii.
v. 549. &
l. ix. v. 404.
& Odyss.
l. viii. v. 79.

* — ἀνδρῶν τι δαῖναι τι παρὰ θεῶν ἐξέπαισαι.
Theogon. v. 220.

† Homer, speaking in his own person, says δαῖναι δ' ἐπιδέσσει βουλῇ: (1) in the person of Jupiter he says ὡς γὰρ ἐξέφατόν ἐστι (2). His doctrine of fate may be seen more at large in the 20th book of the Iliad, v. 30 and 127. There is in the Prometheus of Æschylus a very curious passage concerning necessity, the fates, and the power of Jupiter, in which the poet remarkably avoids explaining what fate is: Prometheus and the Chorus speak:

Cho. Τίς τίς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶ διακροῦσθαι;

Prom. Μείζας τέμνεισθαι, μύθοις τ' ἑμμέλει.

Cho. Τούτω ἀπ' ὃ Ζεὺς ἐστὶν ἀνδρείστερος;

Prom. Ὅσοις ἂν ἐνέγκω γὰρ τὴν πεπραμένην.

Cho. Τί γὰρ πεπραμένη Ζεὺς πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις;

Prom. Τούτ' ἐκ ἀνδρῶν πόλλων, μὴδὲ λήταται.

Prometh. vinct. p. 34. ed. H. Steph.

Herodotus relates a response of the Delphian oracle, declaring the subjection of the gods to

the power of fate: Τὴν πεπραμένην μίαν ἀνάγκην ἐστὶν ἀποφράζειν καὶ Θεῶν. l. i. c. 91. This is the more remarkable for being given as an apology for the oracle, whenever it had the misfortune to make a mistake or tell a falsehood. The god of science being thus fallible, we shall not wonder if the wisdom of the goddess of art was also imperfect. Notwithstanding the veneration of the Athenians for the tutelary deity of their state, Æschylus, in his tragedy named from the Furies, has not scrupled to make Minerva, while she respects those horrible goddesses as her superiors in age, acknowledge that they were also very much her superiors in wisdom:

Ὅργας ξυνίστασσι, γεραιότερα γὰρ ἐγώ.

Καίτοι γερῶν κατ' ἐμὴν σοφώτερα.

Æschyl. Eumenid. p. 302. ed. H. Steph.

Farther, however, than to illustrate and justify Homer, the tenets of the age of Æschylus and Herodotus will be rather for future consideration.

(1) Iliad. l. i. v. 8.

(2) Iliad. l. viii. v. 404.

CHAP. III. yet to deities beyond the search of human eyes. We find Nestor
 SECT. I. sacrificing to Neptune on the seashore*; to Minerva before the por-
 Odyss. l. iii. tico of his palace. Nor is there any mention of hero-worship, or
 v. 5 & 426. divine honors paid to dead men, which afterward became so com-
 mon†. Indeed the invocations were occasionally addressed to num-
 berless divinities, yet the great objects of worship and sacrifice seem
 to have been only Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Minerva; all per-
 haps originally, together with some others, but different names for
 one deity, considered with respect to different powers, functions, or
 attributes; as the divine wisdom, the god of light and life, the crea-
 tor and ruler of all things‡. Grecian religion therefore, being
 raised without system on a foundation of mistake, incongruities were
 natural to it.

The sum of the duty of men to the gods consisted, according to
 Homer, in sacrifice only. That due honor was paid to him by of-
 ferings on his altars, is the reason given by Jupiter for his affection
 for the Trojans, and particularly for Hector. Songs to the gods, we
 are told, were also grateful to them; but without sacrifice nothing
 was effectual. Sacrifices, promised or performed, are alone urged
 in prayer to promote the granting of the petition. Here and there
 only, as stars glittering for a moment through small bright openings
 in a stormy sky, we find some spark of morality connected with
 Homer's religion. Minerva recommends Ulysses to the favor of the
 gods for being a good and just king; and those who give unjust
 judgements are threatened with divine vengeance. Perjury, how-
 ever, as the crime most particularly affronting to themselves, was

* Strabo says there was afterward a temple of Neptune at or near the place (1), but Homer mentions no such thing.

† The terms ἡρώες and θείων γένος, used by Hesiod (2), seem but titles of compliment to his heroes, analogous to Δῖος, so common with Homer, or the phrase, That the people revered their leaders as gods. All perhaps may show a tendency to a worship not in their time practised, and might even help to lead to it; as might also more particularly Hesiod's doc-

trine, whencesoever derived, of the charge committed to the exalted spirits of the men of the golden age over the future race of mankind (3).

‡ Agreeably to a remarkable expression of Æschylus (4),

Πολλὰν ἀνθρώπων μέγ' ἔη μακ.

But Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, has proved the fact from the express testimony of various heathen authors.

(1) Strabo, l. viii. p. 314. (2) Op. & Di. l. i. v. 158; 159. (3) Op. & Di. l. i. v. 120. (4) Prometheus, v. 268.

what they were supposed most particularly disposed to revenge *. 'Jupiter,' we are told, 'will not favor the false;' and in another place, 'The blessed gods love not evil deeds; but they honor justice, and the righteous works of men;' after which follows a remarkable passage: 'Even when the hardened and unrighteous invade the lands of others, tho Jupiter grant them the spoil, and, loading their ships, they arrive every one at his home, still vehement fear of vengeance dwells on their minds †.' The whole of this speech in the *Odyssey* forms a striking picture of that anxious uncertainty concerning the ways of the deity, his favor to men, and their duty to him, which considerate but uninformed persons could scarcely be without. Hesiod, who had evidently communicated much less extensively among mankind than Homer, takes upon him with honest zeal to denounce more particularly the vengeance of the deity against those who wrong their neighbours. He threatens even whole states with famine and pestilence, the destruction of their armies, the wreck of their fleets, and all sorts of misfortunes for the unpunished injustice of individuals. At the same time he indiscreetly promises peace and plenty, and all temporal rewards from the favor of the gods, to the upright: concluding, however, with some remarks not less worthy the philosopher than the poet, which are the foundation of that beautiful and well-known allegory the Choice of Hercules, and which have been variously repeated in all languages.

The different functions of the gods, and the different and often opposite parts which they were supposed to take in human affairs, were a plentiful source of superstitious rites, as well as of advantages to those who, in consequence either of office or their own preten-

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

Iliad. l. iv.

v. 235.

Odys. l. xiv.

v. 83.

Hesiod. *Op.*
& *Di.* l. i.
v. 211—290.

* Ὅρκον ὧς δὴ πλείους ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
Πηγάμει, ὅτε κινῆ τις ἐκὼν ἐπ' ἄρκον ὁμόσῃ.

Hesiod. *Theogon.* v. 231.

† In translating quotations from Greek authors, I prefer the risk of some harshness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original expression for which French criticism seems to allow large indulgence. Even poetry

I have always endeavoured to render, as nearly as possible, word for word. Our language is perhaps more favorable for this purpose than the French. But Mr. Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, itself an admirable poem, will seldom answer the end of those who desire to know with any precision what Homer has said.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

Od. ii. l. iv.
v. 380.Odyss. l. v.
v. 445.Odyss. l. iii.
v. 420. & l.
xvii. v. 484.
Odyss. l. vii.
v. 201. &
mult. al. loc.
Iliad. & Odyss.
Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 863 & 872.Odyss. l. xix.
v. 488.Iliad. l. vi.
v. 108.

sions, were supposed to have more immediate communication with any deity. 'Tell me which of the immortals hinders me!' the anxious question of Menelaus to the daughter of Proteus, must have occurred often as a most perplexing doubt in disappointment and calamity. Without information which of the gods was adverse, the expence of propitiatory hecatombs was vain: for the number of Grecian divinities was in Homer's time far beyond the bounds of calculation, as we may learn from the address of Ulysses to the unknown deity of a river; and when afterward the number of worshipped gods was prodigiously increased, those unnamed and unknown were not the less innumerable.

The opinion was general that the gods often visited the earth, sometimes in visible shape, and that they interfered in human concerns upon all occasions. Numberless passages in various authors prove that this belief was popular. Throughout Homer's poems the splendid actions of men always, and sometimes those of little consequence, are attributed to the immediate influence of some deity. Thus Ulysses says, not 'If I shall overcome the proud suitors,' but, 'If god through me shall overcome the proud suitors.' These opinions could not but have powerful effects. They were sometimes an incentive to bravery, sometimes an excuse for cowardice. Often they decided the fate of a battle. In the sixth book of the Iliad the Trojans are described yielding before the Greeks; but, encouraged by Hector, they stand and renew the engagement. This turn, the cause of which was not immediately apparent, excited in the Greeks a sudden fancy that some divinity was descended from heaven to assist their enemies, who in consequence recovered the advantage. We might suppose, from the liveliness of the poet's description, that he had been eyewitness to some such circumstance.

It is so easy, in times of general ignorance, for men of some cunning to find means of cheating the more thoughtless into an extravagant opinion of their abilities; and mankind is, through the uncertain foresight of reason, so interested in future events; that no country has
been

been without its soothsayers. Those fixed oracles, which afterward became so important in Grecian politics, had probably not, so early as the Trojan war, any very extensive celebrity. The prophetic groves of the Pelasgian Jupiter at Dodona were indeed not without fame; but they were too inconveniently situated, beyond vast ridges of mountains in a remote corner of the country, for the Greeks in general to have means of consulting them. Delphi, mentioned both in the Iliad and Odyssey by the name of Pytho, must also have had reputation for its prophetic powers, which alone apparently could procure it those riches for which it was already remarkable; and Agamemnon is said to have consulted it before he undertook the expedition against Troy. But it was less usual to engage in great trouble and expence to consult a distant oracle, while the belief was yet popular that individuals were everywhere to be found so inspired by the deity as to have the power of foretelling events, without depending upon any particular temple or sacred place as a peculiar residence of the god. Views of interest, as we learn from Homer, often induced men of abilities and experience really superior, to pretend to such divine intercourse. Calchas, the great seer of the Grecian army before Troy, who is said to have known things past, present, and future, was also the chief pilot of the fleet; and the poet attributes his knowledge, even as a pilot, not to his experience, but to the immediate inspiration of Apollo. Augury, or the science of divination by observation of various circumstances of nature, was in some repute. It appears doubtful in what estimation Homer himself held it. He makes Hector, the most pious and the most amiable of his heroes, speak of it with contempt *: yet in the end he makes the same Hector acknowledge the superior wisdom of Polydamas, who confided in augury.

The human soul was generally believed immortal. It is however a gloomy, discontented, nugatory immortality that Homer assigns

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

Odys. l. xiv.
v. 327. & l.
xii. v. 296.

Iliad. l. ix.
v. 404.
Odys. l. viii.
v. 79.
Strabo, l. ix.
p. 417. & 420.
Odys. l. viii.
v. 75.

Iliad. l. i.
v. 71.

Iliad. l. xxii.
v. 99.

* Where he utters that noble sentiment of patriotic heroism, *Ἐγὼ δὲ νῆας, ἄριος, ἀνέσθαι περὶ πᾶσιν.*

Iliad. l. xii. v. 235.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.



even to his greatest characters. The Celtic bards and Teutonic scalds far otherwise inspired contempt of danger and ambition to die in battle. The difference had been observed in Lucan's time, and forcibly struck the lively imagination of that poet *. Some idea of rewards and punishments in a future life also prevailed in Homer's age : but it was impossible that it should be regulated by any just criterion of moral good and evil, where morality had so little connection with religion, and where every vice found favor with the gods. As Hesiod's morality is more pure, so his notions of a future state are less melancholy than those of Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the Government and Jurisprudence of the early Greeks.

IT appears I think not dubious that, in painting the religion, government, manners, arts, and knowledge of the age of Agamemnon, Homer gives us precisely those of his own time. He nowhere marks any difference, and we can have no good reason to suppose that any considerable difference was known to him, if indeed any existed. As a poet, he magnifies the strength of men of old ; but he does not, like many modern writers, attribute the decay of strength to any change of manners. Indeed he assigns no reason for it ; but he leaves us to suppose that, as the heroes of his poem were mostly sons or grandsons of gods or goddesses, it was consonant to the nature of things that they should be indowed with very

* Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetitis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos & cæli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt : regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio : longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ

Mors media est. Certe populos quos despicit
Arctos
Felicis errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus ! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.
Lucan. Pharsal. l. i.

superior

superior abilities to those of his own days, who were some generations farther removed from such lofty origin *.

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SECT. II.

As late then as Homer's own time, clearly, the Greeks had not arrogated to themselves any superiority of national character above the people of the surrounding countries; and in fact they seem not yet to have excelled their neighbours in any circumstance of science, art, or civilization. So far from stigmatizing all the rest of mankind with the epithet barbarian, they had not a fixed name for themselves collectively. They scarcely seem to have considered themselves as unitedly forming a distinct nation; a Peloponnesian esteeming a Theſſalian, as such, scarcely more his fellowcountryman, than a native of Phenicia or Egypt. The connection between the inhabitants of the several states, which appears alone to have had any great weight, was consanguinity. For this the Greeks retained long such a regard as greatly to influence their politics. It was indeed natural that, while the tenure of cities and countries was so very precarious, the opinion of being descended from the same common ancestors should bind men more strongly together than the mere circumstance of possessing territories bounded by the same mountains or the same seas. There was hardly a leader in the Trojan war, who was not connected by blood with many others. This would not a little facilitate the forming of so extensive a league; and the league itself might contribute to strengthen the connection. But any tradition, however uncertain, or after whatsoever interval revived, of derivation from the same forefathers, had, to a late period, remarkable influence among the Grecian people.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 3.

Yet we find in Homer no trace of those divisions of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian, which afterward became of so great consideration. The whole country was under the dominion of these kindred chieftains; every town of any consequence having

* Two lines of Hesiod may serve as a comment upon those passages of Homer which magnify the abilities of his heroes:

Ἄνθρωποι μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν ἐκθιύσας
Ἀθάνατοι γίναντο θεοῖς ἐπιμήκεα τέκνα.

Theogon. v. 1019.

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Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. l. v.

Iliad. i. ii.
v. 197.

Iliad. l. ii.
v. 204.

Odys. l. vii.
v. 186, & l.
viii. v. 387.
Odys. l. ii. v.
26, & l. xxiv.
v. 419.

Iliad. l. ix. v.
441 & 443. &
Odys. l. viii.
v. 170.

Odys. l. viii.
v. 385.

its own prince; and the subjects were a mixed people, strangers being everywhere admitted to municipal rights with little reserve. But, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks, the ancient Grecian princes were not absolute, like the Asiatic monarchs, their power being limited by laws and established customs †. And this is perfectly consonant to the higher authority of Homer. The poet himself appears a warm friend to monarchical rule, and takes every opportunity zealously to inculcate loyalty. It is a common expression with him, that ‘the people revered their leaders as gods;’ and he attributes to them a degree of divine right to respect and authority: ‘The honor of the king,’ says Ulysses in the Iliad, ‘is from Jupiter, and the allwise Jupiter loves him;’ and again, ‘The government of many is bad. Let there be one chief, one king, to whom Jupiter hath intrusted the scepter and the laws, that by them he may govern.’ Yet notwithstanding this, in every Grecian government which the poet has occasion to enlarge upon, he plainly discovers to us strong principles of republican rule. Not only the council of principal men, but the assembly of the people too is familiar to him. The name AGORA signifying the place of meeting, and the verb formed from it, to express haranguing in assemblies of the people, were already in common use; and to be a good public speaker was esteemed among the highest qualifications a man could possess. In the government of Phæacia, as described in the Odyssey, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than in the British constitution. One chief, twelve peers, (all honored like the chief with that title which we translate King) and the assembly of the people, shared the supreme authority §. The universal and undoubted prerogatives of kings were religious

supre-

† Thus also Aristotle: *Διὰ γὰρ τοὺς δουλικώτε-
ροι εἶναι τὰ ἥδη φύσει δι μὴν βαρβαροὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, δι
ὅτι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑυρώπην, ὑπομένοντες
τὴν ἀσποκτικὴν ἀρχήν, ὅθεν δυσχερέωνται.* Polit.
l. iii. c. 14.

§ Κίεοντες Φαίηκων ἱερότατος ἢ δὲ μευόντες.

Δόδικα γὰρ κατὰ ὅμιλον ἀντιπρίπεις βασιλεῖς

Ἀρχὴν κραίνουσι, τριπκαίδεκατες δ' ἐγὼ ἀντιπ.

Odys. l. viii. 387.

This phrase would seem to describe an aristocratic rather than a monarchical government, but that the superior authority of the monarch is marked in other passages. The titles both βασιλεὺς and ἀναξ were long given by the Greeks to any

supremacy, and military command. They often also exercised judicial power *. But in all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything indeed that remains concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was very similar to that of our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters, and more essential interests, it was commonly found expedient to consult the multitude; and the multitude claimed a right to be consulted.

Tacit. de
Mor. Germ.

Thus much we learn with certainty of the principles of government in Homer's age; and we are not less informed that the application of them was very generally irregular and inefficacious. The whole tenor of the *Odyssey* shows on how weak a foundation all political institutions rested. It seems to have been universally understood that monarchies were in some degree hereditary; and the right of primogeniture was strongly favored by popular opinion. Yet Homer, advocate as he is for monarchy, seems plainly to admit a right in the people to interfere and direct the succession. Telemachus was to succeed unquestionably to his father's estate; but the succession to the throne was legally open to competition: there was always room for the pretensions of the most worthy; which was but another name for the most powerful. It has been said to have been Homer's intention, after having in the *Iliad* set bodily abilities in the most brilliant light, to shew, in the *Odyssey*, the preeminence of mental powers. Yet such was the state of things in his age that, to give to superior mental powers any efficacy, he has been obliged to add a high degree, indeed a general superiority, of bodily strength and bodily accomplishments. Hence even

Odysf. l. i. v.
386 & 401.

See particularly
Odysf.
l. viii. ver.
158—234.

any powerful men without accurate distinction. Plato calls the leading men of the Athenian democracy in his own time βασιλεις (1). It was scarcely before the later times of the Roman empire that the title βασιλεις became

strictly appropriated as our title King now is.

* Κίριοι δὲ ἦσαν (ὡς βασιλεις) τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἡρατικάι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτοις τὰς δίκας ἰερῶν. *Aristot. Polit.* l. iii. c. 14. See also *Thucydides*, b. i. c. 13.

(1) Menexenus, p. 259, l. ii. ed. Serran.

the

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Odyss. l. xi.
v. 493.

the most renowned princes were reduced, in the decrepitude of years, to yield the reins of royalty, and esteem themselves fortunate if they could retain the honors only. The government of the islands over which Laertes, and after him his son Ulysses, reigned, was, if we may judge from Homer, at least as well regulated as any of Greece; and those princes are represented equally beloved and respected by the people. Yet in the absence of the son in the vigor of manhood, the venerable character of the father was utterly unable to preserve its due authority. 'Tell me,' says also the shade of Achilles to Ulysses in the Elysian fields, 'do the Myrmidons yet honor the illustrious Peleus? Or is he set at nought since age hath infebled his limbs; and I no longer his assistant exist under the light of the sun, such as in the fields of Troy I dealt death to the bravest while I fought for the Greeks? If such I could return but for a moment to my father's house, those should dread my strength and my invincible arm who violate his rights, or obtrude upon his honors.'

It appears nevertheless, that government and the administration of justice had acquired considerable strength and steadiness, through Peloponnesus at least, since the age of Hercules and Theseus. The political state of that country, in the times which Homer describes, very much resembled that of the kingdoms of western Europe in the feudal ages. The chiefs, whom we call kings, were as the barons who exercised royal rights within their own territories; all acknowledging the head of the Pelopid family as lord paramount. As the kings of Argos were able men, the consequence of this subordination, however checked for a time by the usurpation of Ægistheus, could not but be favorable to the regular administration of law, and the well-being of the Peloponnesian people.

We find in Homer no mention of a republic, nor is there any tradition of one so early as his age in any other author; unless the government of Athens might then claim that title. Yet, within no long period after him, monarchical rule was almost universally abolished, even the title of king nearly lost, and the term of tyrant substi-

substituted for it. This would appear a change not easy to account for, had not Homer himself pointed out to us that strong tinge of republican principles in the constitution of the little states of Greece, even while princes of acknowledged right were at the head of them. There is in the *Odyssey* a pointed expression to this purpose, which may deserve notice. Ulysses, addressing himself as a suppliant to the queen of a strange country, on the coast of which he had saved himself from shipwreck, says, ‘ May the gods grant you and your guests
‘ to live happily; and may you all transmit to your children your
‘ possessions in your houses, and whatsoever HONORS THE PEOPLE
‘ HATH GIVEN YOU *.’

While laws were yet unwritten they could be but few and simple; and judicial proceedings founded upon them little directed by any just or settled principles for the investigation of right and wrong. ‘ The people were assembled in the market-place, when a dispute
‘ arose between two men concerning the payment of a fine for man-
‘ slaughter †. One of them, addressing himself to the bystanders,
‘ asserted that he had paid the whole; the other insisted that he had
‘ received nothing: both were earnest to bring the dispute to a ju-
‘ dicial determination. The people grew noisy in favor some of the
‘ one, some of the other: but the heralds interfering enforced silence;
‘ and the elders approaching, with scepters of heralds in their hands,
‘ seated themselves on the polished marble benches in the sacred
‘ circle. Before them the litigants, earnestly stepping forward,
‘ pleaded by turns; while two talents of gold lay in the midst, to be
‘ awarded to him who should support his cause by the clearest testi-
‘ mony, and the fairest arguments ‡.’ Such is the description which

Iliad. l. xviii.
v. 497—508.

* —Τέρας δ’ ὅτι Δῆμος ἰδμεν.

Odys. l. vii. v. 150.

† Ἄνδρες ἀποφθάνειν, which might be either manslaughter, or the very different crime, tho similar act, of murder: for Grecian law was yet little nice in distinctions.

‡ In revising this translation some years after it was first made, I found I had unawares

differed from the scholiast and from all the most received versions. But I learnt from Pope’s note upon the passage, that the common interpretation, which he has followed, is not undisputed; and his reason given for preferring it I scarcely quite comprehend. A public reward proposed either for the cunningest pleader, or the cunningest judge, on the

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Homer gives of a court of justice, and a lawsuit. The defendant first endeavoured to ingage in his favor the people assembled occasionally about their ordinary business. The plausibility of his story, and probably some personal interest besides, for the amount of the fine proves the litigants to have been men of some consequence, procured him immediately a party; but not such as to prevent his opponent also from finding strong support. The voices of the people therefore not being likely to determine the business, it was agreed to refer it to the council of elders, who assembled instantly, and decided summarily. It is observable that in this business no mention is made of a king; and again in another passage of Homer, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgements, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the assembly of the people*.

What remains from Hesiod concerning the administration of justice, also merits notice. A lawsuit with his brother, in consequence of which he remained deprived of part of his patrimony, has given occasion to much of his poem intitled Of Works and Days. The word which we translate King, is there only found in the plural number, and appears never intended to signify a monarch, but only magistrates or nobles, such as the twelve of Phæacia, or the elders bearing scepters of heralds in the sacred circle. Against those powerful men, whatever they were, who under that title, in his country of Bœotia, held the administration of justice, the poet inveys severely:

Hesiod. Op.
& Di. l. i.
v. 37 & seq.
& 236 & seq.

the decision of every cause, seems nearly an equal absurdity; nor does it appear to me that, consistently with common sense, the two talents of gold can be considered otherwise than as the amount of the fine itself, the very object in litigation. The words of the original perfectly bear that sense. My version of the preceding line

Τὸν ἐμὲ νίσσον, ἀμειβὼς δ' ἰδναζον,
I submit with more doubt to the learned in the language. The spirit of the passage makes me wish that it could be supported, tho I can-

not undertake myself intirely to defend it. It will be but doing common justice to Homer to mention that Pope, in his translation of this passage, has taken a very unwarrantable liberty; describing the judges in terms of ridicule, when the original authorises no idea but of dignity. If Pope's passion for satire had not been irresistible, his respect for his patron Lord Harcourt, whom it appears he consulted upon the passage, should have guarded him against joking so much out of season.

* *Ἄνδρες ἰσχυροὶ.* Iliad. l. xvi. v. 386, 387.

his

his epithet for them, which he frequently repeats, is ‘bribe-devour-
 ‘ing kings.’ In his Theogony we find a more pleasing picture: ‘The
 ‘chief of the Muses,’ he there says, ‘attends upon kings. That
 ‘king whom the Muses honor, and on whose birth they have looked
 ‘propitious, on his tongue they pour sweet dew. From his mouth
 ‘words flow persuasive. All the people look up to him while, point-
 ‘ing out the law, he decides in righteous judgement. Firm in his
 ‘eloquence, with deep penetration he quickly determines even a
 ‘violent controversy. For this is the office of wisdom in kings; to
 ‘repress outrage and injustice, administering equal right to all in the
 ‘general assembly, and easily appeasing irritated minds with soothing
 ‘words. When such a king walks through the city, eminent among
 ‘the assembled people, he is courted as a god, with affectionate re-
 ‘verence. Such is the sacred gift of the Muses to men: for poets
 ‘and musicians are from Apollo and the Muses; but kings are from
 ‘Jupiter himself.’ It is remarkable that no legal power is here
 ascribed to the people; and yet, but for the mention of the title of
 king, we might imagine the description to be of a demagogue in
 some of the subsequent democracies. The whole passage forms a
 striking picture of those middle times, between the barbarism when
 Orpheus governed brutes by song, and Amphion built city-walls
 with his lyre, and the meridian glory of eloquence and philo-
 sophy.

SECTION III.

*Of Science, Arts, and Commerce among the early Greeks. Letters:
 Language: Poetry: Music. Husbandry: Traffic. Masonry. Ma-
 nufactures: Commerce. Art of War. Navigation. Astronomy.
 Physics.*

IT has been already mentioned as a remarkable circumstance in the
 History of Greece, that its oldest traditionary memorials relate, not
 to war and conquest, generally the only materials of the annals of

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Justin. l. ii.
c. 6.Pausan. l. iii.
c. 20.Diodor. Sic.
l. iv. c. 83.
Pindar. Pyth.
ix.

Æschyl. Eumen.

barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions of the first necessity to political society, and of arts even of the first necessity to human life. In no country whose history begins at a later period, do we find the faintest tradition, even a fable, concerning the first institution of marriage: in Greece it was attributed to Cecrops. In Greece tradition mentions the original production of the olive, the first culture of the vine, and even the first sowing of corn. The first use of mills for grinding corn is also recorded. The knowledge of the cultivation and use of the olive, of the preparation of a lasting food from milk by converting it into cheese, and of the domestication of bees for their honey and wax, was said to have been brought from Africa by Aristæus: and so important was the information to the wild tribes of hunters who first occupied Greece, that Aristæus had the fame of being the son of Apollo, the god of science; the herdsmen and rustic nymphs, among whom he had been educated, were raised in idea to beings above human condition, and he was reported to be himself immortal. The goddess of art, Minerva, according to the oldest Athenian author from whom anything remains to us, tho' reputed the peculiar patroness of Athens, was born in Africa. Music, poetry, several musical instruments, several sorts of versification, have moreover their inventors named in Grecian tradition. Not to expatiate in the wide field thus opened for inquiry and remark, one inference it may not be alien from the office of history to suggest. Opinions heretofore held by learned men, concerning the age of the world, chiefly derived from the Hebrew scriptures, have lately been treated by some fashionable writers with a degree of ridicule. Whether anything in those Scriptures can authorise any calculation of the years which have passed since the matter which composes our globe has taken nearly its present form, appears at least dubious*. But if, neglecting the arrogant and exploded absurdity of Egyptian vanity, we were to form a judgement from the modest and undesigning traditions of early Greece, from the tenor of the oldest

* See Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

poets, from the researches of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, even Diodorus Siculus, and in general of the most inquisitive and judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the early state of nations, all concur, and the latest and best accounts even of Chinese literature go with them *, strongly to indicate that the centuries since the Flood, or since mankind has existed in its present state, are not likely to have been many more than Sir Isaac Newton has supposed; and all remarkably accord with the Hebrew authors.

We might however perhaps judge with more rational confidence on this subject, if we knew more of the origin of that art to which we are indebted for all our acquaintance with antiquity. But the investigation of the rise of LETTERS was in vain attempted by the most learned among the ancients, who possessed means not remaining to us. Yet the pursuit has been revived, and anxiously urged among the moderns; two of whom in our own country, men of singular learning, unable by the most extensive and exact researches to ascertain either how or where alphabetical writing was invented, have yet deserved highly of the literary world by showing how and where it might have been invented. For the art itself being so simple and familiar, yet the means of discovering it so extremely difficult to imagine, while its utility is so beyond all estimation, some learned men, at a loss to conceive its invention by human powers, have supposed it an immediate communication from the deity himself. But since Bishop Warburton and Judge Monbeddo have shown the possibility, and even probability, that we owe alphabetical writing to the genius of Egypt, Governor Pownall has gone farther, and seems to have shown, in some degree, the process of the invention from Egyptian monuments yet remaining. Even to this apparent proof, however, a strong objection occurs. The learned among the Egyptians themselves knew nothing of that gradual rise of the art which it has been endeavoured to investigate among the scanty relics of their

Divine Legation.
Origin of Language.

Essay on the Study of Antiquities.

* See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, c. xxvi. with the notes 22, 23, 24, 25, and the authorities there quoted.

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Sacred and
Profane
History.Plin. Hist.
Nat. l. vii.
c. 56.
Plato. Philo-
bus, p. 19.
t. ii. & Phæ-
drus, p. 274.
t. iii. ed. Ser-
ian.Sharpe on the
Origin of
Languages.Thucyd. l. i.
c. 12.

ancient monuments. They attributed the intire invention to one person, whose name has been variously written Thoth, Thyoth, Theuth, Athothes, Taautus, and who passed with them for a god *. On the contrary among the Assyrians, who, with many other arts, possessed that of alphabetical writing at a period far beyond connected history, no tradition, as the learned Shuckford has observed, appears to have remained, by whom it was invented or whence it came.

Tho therefore doubt yet hangs about the origin of letters, and some may still be inclined to suppose with Pliny that they were of Asiatic birth, while others believe with Plato that they were invented in Egypt, yet in tracing their history we can go with some certainty into very high antiquity. Every known alphabet seems indisputably derived from one source, from which Egypt, Syria, and Assyria had all profited before its advantages were known to the rest of the world. The concurrent testimony of Grecian writers may warrant our belief that a colony from Phenicia, settling in Bœotia, first brought letters into Greece †. The leader of the colony was known to posterity by the name of Cadmus, which, it has been observed, signified, in the Phenician language, an eastern man: and till the overwhelming irruption of Bœotians from Thessaly, according to Thucydides about sixty years after the Trojan war, the country was called Cadmeis, and the people Cadmeians ‡.

* By some analogy, familiar, it should seem, to the Greeks and Romans, tho not now very apparent, he was often called by the former Hermes, by the latter Mercurius.

† Concors pene omnium scriptorum opinio est Græcos a Phœnicibus literas esse mutuatas, & ante Cadmi ætatem nullas apud Græcos extitisse literas.—Ære perennius documentum superest vel ex nominibus literarum, quæ in utraque lingua, Phœnicia videlicet & Græca, eadem prorsus sunt.—Missis aliis quæ hac de re pluribus expendere & disquirere possemus, hoc unum nobis sufficiat, nempe Græcas literas Phœniciæ originis esse, quod neminem puto inficias iturum. Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græc. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ Καδμῆος is their name with Homer (1) and Hesiod (2). But this name seems not to have been confined to those orientals who settled in Bœotia. Herodotus (3) speaks of Cadmeians who expelled the Dorians from Histæotis in Thessaly. History is not without other examples of national names arising in the same manner; among which that of the Normans is remarkable, and in every point analogous to that of the Cadmeians: losing in their settlement in France both the name and the language of their original country, their new name of Normans was an appellation descriptive of the relative situation of their old country to their new, in words of the lost language. Homer has used the Cad-

(1) Iliad. l. iv. v. 388 & 391. & Odyssey. l. xi. v. 275.

(2) Scut. Herc. v. 13.

(3) l. i. c. 56.

But it has been, if not proved, yet shown to be highly probable, that in these early ages the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia, and Egypt mutually understood each other *. Nor does any circumstance in the history of the Grecian people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the extraordinary superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradition, and in circumstances apparently most unfavorable. For it was amid continual migrations, expulsions, mixtures of various hords, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language so simple in its analogy, of such complex art in its composition and inflexion, of such clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty in its sound. Already in the time of Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn on no less authority than that of Plato,

Plato de Leg.
l. viii. p. 829.
t. ii.

mean name in two places with a different termination, *Kadmus-wra* (1); and it has been observed, that thus written it bears a very near resemblance to the name of a people of Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua to have been expelled by the Israelites. Upon a mere resemblance of names, however, little or nothing can be founded. Similar changes of termination are common with Homer for the purposes of variety and meter only.

* See Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monboddo on the Origin of Language, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities. The Greek and Latin languages are of acknowledged oriental origin. The Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin. The Celtic dialects have, in many characteristic circumstances, a close analogy to the Hebrew

and its allied oriental tongues (2). In the Welsh the deficiency of a present tense to the verbs, the having often the third person singular of the past tense for the root, and the use of affixed pronouns and particles, are remarkable. Its particular resemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns is also remarkable. Whence arose the strong characteristic differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their parent languages of the east; and how, among the northern nations, the more western Celtic held the oriental character, and the Persian, in situation the most oriental, acquired a middle character between the two, are problems which excite curiosity, but which scarcely the learning and diligence of a Gebelin will ever solve.

(1) Iliad. l. iv. v. 385. & l. xxiii. v. 680.
Language, and his Grammar of the Ibero-Celtic.

(2) See Major Vallancy's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish

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that still in his time the diction of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to have lived long before Homer, was singularly pleasing.

The history of Grecian letters lies more open to investigation. It has been observed, that manners and customs have remained in the east remarkably unvaried through all ages. The permanence of language in the same countries is not less remarkable. The Syriac and Arabic to this day bear a close affinity to the Hebrew even of the Pentateuch. Through the Arabic therefore, the Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Hebrew, we have means of tracing one language almost to the beginning of things. In all these dialects we find that orthography has always been extremely imperfect. It has been much contested whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express vowels *. It is certain that the modern Arabs, with twenty-eight letters in their alphabet, acknowledge none for vowels; and the Persians, with a very different language, adopting the Arabic alphabet, have added some consonants wanting for their pronunciation, but no vowels. It should seem, from these circumstances, that oriental pronunciation and oriental orthography have been settled by organs and perceptions not very elegant and discerning. Consonants indeed have been distinguished with some accuracy each by its proper letter: for consonant sounds are mostly so separated by their nature, and so incapable of being blended, that the dullest ear easily discriminates them. But it is not so with the liquid sound of vowels. Inaccurate organs of pronunciation will confound, and inaccurate organs of hearing will mistake, especially in hasty utterance, those which, deliberately spoken by a good voice, appear strongly distinguished. The orientals therefore, in committing language to writing, expressed vowels in those syllables only where the vowel-sound, whether through length or accent, was more particularly marked by the voice; leaving it in others to be supplied by the reader's knowledge of the word. Thus

* Maseles's account of the Hebrew alphabet I prefer to any that I have seen. Apparently more acquainted with the modern oriental languages than our learned Gregory

Sharpe, who has followed him, Maseles had in view to investigate fact, not to devise a system. For authority for the Arabic alphabet I follow Richardson's Grammar.

in all the eastern dialects, ancient and modern, we find numberless words, and some of many syllables, without a single vowel written. For it seems to be admitted that three of the Arabic letters were originally vowels *; and there appears no reason to doubt but the three corresponding Hebrew letters were also vowels †. But neither in the Arabic nor Persian (which would appear to us more extraordinary if the same abuse was not familiar, tho something less gross and less frequent, in our own language) is the letter written a guide to be relied upon for the vowel to be pronounced. Hence it seems to have been that, in all the oriental languages, those letters have ceased to support their reputation of vowels; and hence the comparatively modern resource of points, which, without removing the vowel-letters from their orthographical station, intirely supersede them in the office of directing the voice ‡.

* Among many proofs of this, the older Persic writings appear strong; for in them we are told every syllable had its vowel (1.) The pronunciation of the Persic is more delicate, and its form more perfect than those of the western Asiatic tongues, and in both it approaches nearer to the Greek.

† The Arabic letters ALIF, WAW, YA, corresponding to the Hebrew which we call ALEPH, VAU, IOD, if they are not vowels, are generally nothing; for it is comparatively seldom that WAW and YA are sounded like our v and j consonants. Beside these, the letters AIN and HE, corresponding to the Hebrew letters of the same names, are, one always, the other sometimes, vowels. But these five vowel-letters are very irregularly applied to the expression of vowel-sounds; or, to speak familiarly to English ears, words in the Arabic continually, and in the Persian often, are not to be pronounced as they are spelt, but in a manner widely different. Moreover, tho there are five letters in the Arabic alphabet really vowels, yet only three vowel-sounds can be discriminated by them; for the letters AIN and HE seem to have no vowel-powers that are not also possessed by other letters.

‡ It seems to be now decided among the learned, that the vowel-points of the Arabs and Persians were unknown till after the age of Mahomet, and that the Hebrew points were imitated from them. The idea of using points to represent vowels appears to have been suggested by the Greek marks of accent. For when the Greek, through the Macedonian conquests, and still more through the Roman, became a universal language, marks, invented and first used in the Alexandrine school, came into general use to direct all nations to the proper accentuation. In our own language, and in the Italian and Spanish, the useful practice has been followed, and indeed is now deemed indispensable, in grammars and dictionaries. But when the Arabic, by the conquests of the Califs, became scarcely less extended than the Greek had been; and its men of learning, in the leisure of peace and under the patronage of munificent princes, applied themselves diligently to the study of Grecian literature, the inconveniencies of their own orthography would, particularly upon comparison, appear glaring. To remedy therefore the utter discord between their vowel-letters written, and vowel sounds pronounced,

(1) See Richardson's Dissertation on Eastern Languages, p. 236. of 2d Edit.

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Newton's
Chron. p. 13.

Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. v. c.
29. & l. vii.
c. 56.

Joseph. cont.
Apion. l. i.
Strabo, l. vi.
p. 259.
Herodot. l. ii.
c. 143. l. v.
c. 125. &
l. vi. c. 137.
Strabo, l. i.
p. 18. & al.
Dionys. Halic.
Ant. Rom. l. i.

I have been induced to enter the more minutely, I fear tediously for some readers, into this detail, because we seem hence to acquire considerable light on some circumstances, otherwise unaccountable, in so curious and interesting a part of the history of mankind as the history of Grecian literature. The lowest date assigned to the arrival of Cadmus in Greece is one thousand and forty-five years before Christ. Homer flourished not less than two hundred years after him. It has been doubted whether Homer could write or read; and the arguments adduced for the negative in Mr. Wood's Essay on the Original Genius of Homer seem scarcely controvertible. The earliest Greek prose-writers known to the ancients themselves, were Pherecydes of Syros and Cadmus of Miletus; mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, and at least two hundred and fifty years after Homer. No Grecian state had its laws put in writing till about the same period, when Draco was archon at Athens, and Zaleucus lawgiver of the Epizephyrian Locrians. The earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any considerable reputation with posterity, were Hecataeus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Athens, who were about a generation later. The interval therefore between the first introduction of letters, and any familiar use of them in Greece, was, by the most moderate accounts, between four and five hundred years. Yet the information remaining to us concerning the origin and progress of Grecian letters, considered together with the known imperfections of oriental orthography (which in its general principles appears to have remained the same from the age of Moses to this day) will rationally account for whatever might otherwise appear in this circumstance unaccountable.

and to remove the uncertainty of those syllables where custom had established that no vowel should be written, they took the Grecian marks of accent and aspiration, and, with some alterations and additions, applied them to represent the sound of vowels, and to supply other defects of their established orthography. Thus the French use the Greek

marks of accent to discriminate the different sounds of their letter *e*, and to point out the omission of an orthographical *s*. Still however the new marks for vowels, being only three, are very unequal to their purpose; and they have moreover never obtained general use either in Arabic or Persian writing.

The

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The letters brought by Cadmus from Phenicia would be very inadequate to express the nice discriminations of sound in the Grecian dialects, or to satisfy the elegant accuracy of Grecian organs of pronunciation and hearing. The invention of new letters, or at least the invention of a new application of the old, would be indispensable: works which, if quickly completed, would still be long in gaining the necessary authority of popular use through a half-polished nation, divided into independent states almost innumerable. Nor do these circumstances rest upon surmise. We have a plain account of them in Herodotus, which bears in itself every appearance of being well-founded; and, assisted by what we know of oriental orthography, and what we learn from ancient Greek inscriptions on marbles still existing, becomes in every part intelligible, and almost circumstantial. The Cadmeians, that author says, at first used letters exactly after the Phenician manner. But in process of time, their language receiving alterations, they changed also the power of some of their letters. Examples of Cadmeian letters, thus accommodated to Grecian speech, were yet remaining in the historian's time; who saw them himself on some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ilieniuss at Thebes, and has reported the inscriptions. In this state letters passed, he continues, to the Ionian Greeks of Attica, and other neighbouring provinces. By these some farther alterations were made; but the letters, he says, were still called Phenician. The principal additions, which the accurate harmony of the Greek language required, were to the vowels. No syllable was suffered to be without its vowel written. Yet all the nice discriminations of vowel-sounds in the voice, even of those essential to the harmony of the language, were not at last expressed by written characters; tho' in the end, instead of three discriminating vowel-letters, probably received from the east, the Greeks used seven vowel-letters of different powers, beside many combinations of vowels, called diphthongs; which, whatsoever composition of sound may be supposed in them, were so far simple sounds that each could go to the forming of but a single syllable. From the Greek was derived the Latin orthography, and thence that of all

Herodot. l. v.
c. 59.


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Asile on the
Origin and
Progress of
Writing, c. v.

western Europe; among which the English, being the most irregular and imperfect, approaches nearest in character to the oriental*. But during the centuries while the Grecian alphabet was thus receiving its form, some very remarkable changes took place also in the method of writing; partly perhaps in consequence of the delay in establishing the alphabet, and itself no doubt a hindrance to the progress of letters among the Grecian people. It seems not questionable that on the first introduction of letters into Greece the oriental manner of arranging them obtained, from the right toward the left. Afterward the practice arose of forming the lines alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and the oldest Greek inscriptions known are in that manner. Then it became customary to begin from the left, and return in the second line to the left again. At length, about the time of the Persian invasion, several centuries after Cadmus, this alternate arrangement was finally disused, and the Greeks wrote only from the left toward the right. In this practice they have been followed by all the European nations, while the orientals still hold the original method of arranging their characters from the right toward the left †.

* The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in the earliest state in which it becomes known to us, were only four, A, E, I, O. The gradual additions have been traced in old inscriptions, and their history confirmed from passages of Greek and Roman authors (1). The invention or introduction of particular letters by Palamedes, Simonides, and others, to whom it has been attributed, is not ascertained on any authority (2). The letter O, we find, like the Arabic and Persian  at this day, was originally used both for the simple sound of o, and for that which was afterward distinguished by the diphthong OY; which had probably also a simple sound only, as it has now in the modern Greek, like the French *ou*, the English *oo*, and the Italian *u*. Y we know for certain to have had a very different sound from the Latin *u*, the long sound of which was in Greek represented by the diphthong OY, and the short by the vowel o. The modern Greeks also represent by their diphthong *ou*, the Italian vowel *u*, or our *oo*. The modern

Greek Y, the Italian *u*, the French *u*, and the English *u*, have all different powers; and nothing but the most determined national and habitual prejudice could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian literature has high obligation, that the ancient Greek Y was of a sound so unpleasant, and formed by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French *u*.

† This sheet was already in the press when Mr. Asile's work on the Origin and Progress of Writing was announced to the public. It has been great satisfaction to me to find what I have ventured on this subject so thoroughly supported by a work of such extensive inquiry. It may however be proper to observe, that Mr. Asile thinks he has found alphabets, among the nations east of Persia, not derived from that one which he yet allows has given origin to the far greater part of those now used in different parts of the globe. Origin and Progress of Writing, c. iv. p. 48, 49, & c. v. p. 64.

(1) See Shuckford's *Connexion*, b. iv.

(2) Montfaucon. *Palaograph. Græc.* l. iii. c. 1.

After

After the general excellence of the Greek language, the perfection which its POETRY attained, at an era beyond almost all memorials except what that poetry itself has preserved to us, becomes an object of high curiosity. In vain, however, would we inquire for the origin of that verse which, tho means no longer exist for learning to express its proper harmony, still, by a charm almost magical, pleases universally. But it was the ignorance of letters that gave poetry its importance in the early ages. To assist memory was perhaps the original purpose for which verse was invented: certainly it was among its most important uses. How necessary even such precarious assistance was, and how totally the surer help of letters was wanting, we may judge from the difficulty which Homer ascribes to the exact recital of a catalogue of names. Hence Memory was deified: hence the Muses were called her immediate offspring. For this also, among other causes, poetry has in all countries preceded regular prose composition. Laws were, among the early Greeks, always promulgated in verse, and often publicly sung; a practice which remained in some places long after letters were become common*: morality was taught, history was delivered in verse: lawgivers, philosophers, historians, all who would apply their experience or their genius to the instruction or amusement of others, were necessarily poets. The character of poet was therefore a character of dignity: an opinion even of sacredness became attached to it: a poetical genius was esteemed an effect of divine inspiration, and a mark of divine favor†: and the poet, who moreover carried with him instruction and entertainment no way to be obtained without him, was a privileged person, enjoying, by a kind of prescription, the rights of universal hospitality. These

Iliad. l. ii.
v. 484.
Hesiod. Theogon. v. 52
& 915.

* Πρὸς ἐνίστασιν νόμων ἦν τοῖς νόμοις, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται· ὥστε ἐν Ἀγαθήσῃ ἐνὶ ἰσθμῷ. Aristot. Probl. sect. 19. art. 28. Strabo informs us (1) that, even in his time, Νεμῶδες, SINGER OF THE LAWS, was the title of a principal magistrate at Mazaca in Cappadocia, where the code of Charondas, the celebrated legisla-

tor of Thurium in Italy, was the established law.

† Ἀποδοῦντος δ' ἑμὶ· οὗτος δὲ μὲν ἐν Φερίῳ θυμῷ Πανόας ἐνέστυται· says the bard Phœmius.

Odyss. l. xxii. v. 348.

(1) b. xii. p. 539.

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circumstances would contribute to improve and to fix the language. But similar circumstances have been common in other nations about the same period of progress in art and science, without producing a language comparable to the Greek.

The character of the language of a people must always considerably influence the character of their Music. Among the Greeks music had evidently some natural connection with verse, which no modern European language knows, and which therefore we now in vain would scrutinize. What indeed the music itself of the ancients ever was, we have little means of judging, as none of it has been transmitted intelligible to us; but that the very early Grecian music had extraordinary merit, we have Plato's testimony in very remarkable words*; and Aristotle, generally enough disposed to differ from his master, upon this subject coincides in judgment with him†. In Homer's time we find both stringed and wind instruments familiar‡. Poetry seems to have been always sung, and the accompaniment of an instrument to have been esteemed essential. Farther of the music of Homer's age we can only judge from analogy. Probably it was very inartificial. But it appears a solecism to suppose that those elegant perceptions and nice organs, which gave form to the most harmonious language ever spoken among men, and guided invention to the structure of that verse which, even under the gross disguise of modern pronunciation, is still universally charming, could have produced, or could have tolerated, a vicious or inelegant stile of music. Extreme simplicity in music is perfectly consistent with elegance, and the most affecting music generally is most simple.

Considering the imperfection of civil government, and the consequent insecurity of property, greater advances had already, in Homer's age, been made in many arts conducing to convenience and elegance of living than might have been expected. AGRICULTURE IN

* See note † p. 51 of this Volume.

† Ὀδύμπου μὲν δὲ ἀμελοποιούμενος παῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθυσίαντας, Polit. l. iv.

‡ The strings were, like those now used, of the guts of sheep twisted, as we are informed by Homer in the *Odyssey*, l. xxi. v. 408.

various branches appears to have been carried on with great regularity. It is remarked by Cicero that Hesiod, in his poem on husbandry, makes no mention of manure; but Homer expressly speaks of dunging land, as well as of plowing, sowing, reaping corn and mowing grass. The culture of the vine also was well understood, and the making of wine carried through the different processes with much attention and knowledge. This is evident from various circumstances mentioned by Homer, and particularly from the age to which wines were kept: Nestor produced some at a sacrifice eleven years old. Oil from the olive was in use; but the culture of the tree appears not to have been extensive. In Alcinous's garden the vineyard is a principal feature by itself; but the olive is only found in the orchard, with the apple, the pear, the pomegranate, and the fig. Pasturage has generally preceded tillage, and herds and flocks constituted the principal riches of Homer's time. Cattle, in the scarcity, or perhaps non-existence of coin, were the most usual measure of the value of commodities. The golden armour of Glaucus, we are told, was worth a hundred oxen; the brazen armour of Diomed nine: The tripod, the first prize for wrestling at the funeral of Patroclus, was valued at twelve oxen; the female slave, the second prize, at four. When Eumæus, in the *Odyssée*, would convey an idea of the opulence of Ulysses, he neither tells of the extent of his lands, nor the quantity of his moveables, but of his herds and flocks only. But commerce seems to have been carried on intirely by exchange. In the *Iliad* we have a description of a supply of wine brought by sea to the Grecian camp, where it is bought by some, says the poet, with brass, by some with iron, by some with hides, by some with the cattle themselves, by some with slaves.

The art of MASONRY appears to have been not mean in Homer's time. The opulent had houses built of stone, Homer calls it polished stone, with numerous and spacious apartments for state as well as for convenience; and it was with no small state that they were waited upon in them by numerous attendants. A late ingenious and
learned

CHAP. III.

SECT. III.

De Senectute.
Odyss. l. xvii.
v. 299.*Odyss.* l. ii.
v. 340. & l. ix.
v. 205.
Odyss. l. iii.
v. 390.*Odyss.* l. vii.
v. 112.*Iliad.* l. vi.
v. 236.*Iliad.* l. xxiii.
v. 702.*Odyss.* l. xiv.
v. 100.*Iliad.* l. vii.
v. 467.*Odyss.* l. x.
v. 211.

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Sir Ed. Barry
on the Wines
of the An-
cients.

learned author has remarked that bathing, always a favorite article of eastern luxury, was in Homer's time carried to a high pitch of convenience, and even of elegance; and that it declined after him, and remained in a ruder state till it was restored, some centuries after, by Hippocrates, for medicinal purposes. It is indeed probable that luxury may have declined in more than one article after Homer's age, and from more than one cause. For the present, however, it may suffice to observe, that when Greece raised those sumptuous public buildings which, for elegance of taste and excellence of workmanship, the most informed and refined of other nations have ever since studied and never yet equalled, the private dwellings appear to have been scarcely in anything superior to those of Homer's time. For, weak and unsettled as law and government then were, the distinction of ranks and difference of property being very great, princes and a few opulent persons had the means of indulging themselves in expences which, afterward amid republican equality, if any could afford, the levelling spirit of the times made dangerous to exhibit.

But, as we have already remarked, Homer claims nothing of that superiority in art or science for his fellowcountrymen which they afterward so justly made their boast. On the contrary he ascribes to Phenicia preëminence in the arts, and to Egypt in riches and population. Ornamental works in metals, in ivory, in wool, we find were not uncommon in Greece in his time: the art of gilding silver, or perhaps rather of plating silver with gold, was already known; and the same art of dying crimson, which became so highly esteemed in the subsequent times of luxury and refinement among both Greeks and Romans, appears to have had its origin before Homer*. We have in the *Odyssæe* the following list of presents to a lady: 'A tunic, large, beautiful, variegated; twelve golden hooks were on it, nicely fitted to well-bent eyes; a golden necklace of elegant

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 744.
Iliad. l. ix.
v. 381.

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 159.

Odyss. l. xviii.
v. 291.

* The expression *ἐλαττοῦρα* (1) seems to warrant this opinion.

(1) *Odyss.* l. vi. v. 53.

'workmanship, set with amber, and highly splendid; a pair of 'three-drop earrings exquisitely brilliant;' another ornament for the neck is added, for which we want a name. It rather appears, however, that these admired works of art were not the produce of Greece. In another place Homer describes a merchant offering to sale a golden necklace set with amber; but that merchant was a Phenician. A silver bowl is described excelling all that ever were seen; 'for,' adds the poet, 'Sidonian artists made it, and Phenicians 'brought it over the sea.' It seems indeed to have been a regular part of the Phenician commerce to send toys for ventures to the Grecian ports *. Handicraft arts were not yet become trades in Greece; even princes exercised them for themselves. Ulysses, in the height of opulence, made his own bedstead, adorning it with gold, silver, and ivory.

COMMERCE, in the Homeric age, appears to have been principally in the hands of the Phenicians. The carrying trade of the Mediterranean was early theirs, and Sidon was the great seat of manufacture. The Greeks were not without traffic carried on by sea among themselves; but the profession of merchant had evidently not in Homer's time that honorable estimation which, according to Plutarch, it yet acquired at an early period in Greece. While it was thought not unbecoming a prince to be a carpenter to supply his own wants or luxuries, to be a merchant for gain was held but as a mean employment: a pirate was a more respected character.

The ART OF WAR is among the arts of necessity, which all people, the rudest equally and the most polished, must cultivate, or ruin will follow the neglect. The circumstances of Greece were in some respects peculiarly favorable to the improvement of this art. Divided into little states, the capital of each, with the greater part of the territory, generally within a day's march of several neighboring

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

Odyss. l. xv.
v. 458.

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 744.

Odyss. l. xviii.
v. 189.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 1.

Plutarch. vit.
Solon. init.
Odyss. l. iii.
v. 71. & l.
viii. v. 161.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 5.

* — Φοίνικες κατασκευάζοντες χρυσοῦς ἀνδράς
Τριτάται. μὲν δὲ ἑκράντες ἀνέφραστον καὶ μὲνδον
Odyss. l. xv. v. 415.

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states, which might be enemies, and seldom were thoroughly to be trusted as friends, it was of peculiar necessity both for every individual to be a soldier, and for the community to pay unremitted attention to military affairs. Accordingly we find, that so early as Homer's time the Greeks had improved considerably upon that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations, who yet have prided themselves in the practice of war for successive centuries. Several terms used by the poet, together with his descriptions of marches, indicate that orders of battle were in his time regularly formed in ranks and files. Steadiness in the soldier, that foundation of all those powers which distinguish an army from a mob, and which to this day forms the highest praise of the best troops, we find in great perfection in the *Iliad*. 'The Grecian phalanges', says the poet, 'marched in close order, the leaders directing each his own band. The rest were mute: inasmuch that you would say in so great a multitude there was no voice. Such was the silence with which they respectfully watched for the word of command from their officers.'

Iliad. l. iv.
v. 427.

Considering the deficiency of iron, the Grecian troops appear to have been extremely well armed, both for offence and defence. Their defensive armour consisted of a helmet, a breastplate, and greaves, all of brass, and a shield, commonly of bull's hide, but often strengthened with brass. The breastplate appears to have met the belt, which was a considerable defence to the belly and groin: and with an appendent skirt guarded also the thighs. All together covered the forepart of the soldier from the throat to the ankle; and the shield was a superadded protection for every part. The bulk of the Grecian troops were infantry thus heavily armed, and formed in close order, many ranks deep. Any body formed in ranks and files, close and deep, without regard to a specific number of either ranks or files, was generally termed a phalanx*. But the

* Homer applies the term equally to the Trojan as to the Grecian troops. *Iliad*. l. iv. v. 332. & l. vi. v. 83.

Locrians,

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.Iliad. l. xii.
v. 712.

Locrians, under Oilean Ajax, were all light armed; bows were their principal weapons, and they never engaged in close fight *.

Riding on horseback was yet little practised, tho it appears not to have been unknown †. Some centuries, however, passed before it was generally applied in Greece to military purposes; the mountainous ruggedness of the country preventing any extensive use of cavalry, except among the Thesſalians, whose territory was a large plain. But in the Homeric armies no chief was without his chariot, drawn generally by two, sometimes by three horses; and these chariots of war make a principal figure in Homer's engagements. Nestor, forming the army for battle, composes the first line of chariots only. In the second he places that part of the infantry in which he has least confidence; and then forms a third line, or reserve, of the most approved troops. It seems extraordinary that chariots should have been so extensively used in war as we find they were in the early ages. In the wide plains of Asia indeed we may account for their introduction, as we may give them credit for utility: but how they should become so general among the inhabitants of rocky, mountainous Greece; how the distant Britons should arrive at that surprizing perfection in the use of them, which we find they possessed when the Roman legions first invaded this island, especially as the Gauls and Germans are not remarked for that mode of fighting, is not so easily imagined. Cæsar's praise of the British chariot-forces, ' That they possessed at
' the same time the celerity of horse, and the stability of foot,' is no

De Bello
Gall. l. iv.
c. 9.

* Homer has been evidently far more conversant in military matters than Hesiod. Yet there would probably be men of Locris to whom the epithet ἀρχιμαχηῖ, which Hesiod gives to the Locrians of Amphitryon's army (1), would be properly applied.

† No person of Agamemnon's time is mentioned by Homer as riding on horseback, except Diomed, when, with Ulysses, he made prize of the horses of Rhesus (2). A simile

in the 15th book of the Iliad (3) has been supposed to prove that horsemanship was greatly improved in the poet's age. It should however be observed, that in the former instance riding is mentioned familiarly, and not at all as a new or extraordinary device; and that, on the contrary, in the latter an exhibition of skill is spoken of which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all the people of a large city.

(1) Scut. Herc. v. 25.

(2) Iliad. l. x. v. 513.

(3) v. 670.

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.De Bello
Gall. l. v.
c. 43.

vulgar praise; tho to us at this day it is not very clear, from his description, how such a method of fighting should earn it.

The practice, so general in Homer's age, for the chiefs to advance from their posts and engage singly in front of the line of battle, is apt at this day to strike with an appearance of absurdity perhaps much beyond the reality. Before the use of fire-arms that practice was not uncommon when the art of war was at its greatest perfection. Cæsar himself gives, with evident satisfaction, a very particular account of a remarkable advanced combat in which, not generals indeed, but two centurions of his army engaged. But the Grecian chiefs of the heroic age, like the knights of the times of chivalry, had armour probably very superior to that of the common soldiers; and this, with the additional advantage of superior skill, acquired by assiduous practice amid unbounded leisure, would make this skirmishing much less dangerous than on first consideration it may appear. The effects also to be expected from it were not unimportant: for it was very possible for a few men of superior strength, activity, and skill, superior also by the excellence of their defensive armour, to create disorder in the close array of the enemy's phalanx. They threw their weighty javelins from a distance, while none dared advance to meet them but chiefs equally well armed with themselves; and from the soldiers in the ranks they had little to fear, because in that close order the spears could not be thrown with any advantage*. Occasionally indeed we find some person of inferior name advancing to throw his javelin at a chief occupied against some other, but retreating again immediately into the ranks: a resource not disdained by the greatest heroes when danger pressed. Hector himself having thrown his javelin ineffectually at Ajax, retires toward his phalanx,

Iliad. l. xiv.

* The vast force with which the heroes of old are reported to have thrown their javelins is, I know with some, almost an incredibility; but those who have seen the Armenian Philippo throw a slick (the man who communicated to the Society for Incouragement of

Arts the method of preparing Turkey leather), will know that Homer's descriptions require little if any allowance for poetical exaggeration. Philippo had been a horse-soldier in the Persian service.

but is overtaken by a stone of enormous weight, which brings him to the ground. If from the death or wounds of chiefs, or slaughter in the foremost ranks of soldiers, any confusion arose in the phalanx, the shock of the enemy's phalanx, advancing in perfect order, must be irresistible *.

CHAP. III.
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Another practice common in Homer's time is by no means equally defensible, but on the contrary marks great barbarism; that of stopping in the heat of action to strip the slain. Often this puerile passion for possessing the spoil of the enemy superseded all other, even the most important and most deeply interesting objects of battle. The poet himself was not unaware of the danger and inconvenience of this practice, and seems even to have aimed at a reformation of it. We find indeed in Homer's warfare, a remarkable mixture of barbarism with regularity. Tho the art of forming an army in phalanx was known and commonly practised, yet the business of a general in directing its operations was lost in the passion, or we may call it fashion, of the great men to signalize themselves by acts of personal courage and skill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the first heroes of the Iliad, excel only in the character of fighting soldiers: as generals and directors of the war, they are inferior to many. Indeed while the fate of battles depended so much on the skirmishing of the chiefs, we cannot wonder that the prejudice should obtain which set the able arm in vulgar estimation above the able head. But the poet obviously means to expose the absurdity and mischievous consequence of that prejudice where he makes Hector, in a late repentance, acknowledge the superior abilities of Polydamas. Yet Homer's own idea of the duties of an officer, tho he certainly possessed very extensive and very accurate knowledge both of the theory and practice of war of

Iliad. l. v.
v. 48, & l. vi.
v. 67.

Iliad. l. xviii.
v. 106 & 252.

Iliad. l. xxii.
v. 99.

* The expressions *ἐξάμενος*,—*ἐν δ' ἰθὺς ἀπομάχων* (1),—*ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἐν ἰσχυροῖς* (2), applied to the chiefs; and *σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς*,—*περὶ πύλιν ἀφ' ὧν* (3), applied to the phalanx, mark clearly the difference of the two modes of engagement. The manner of a general engage-

ment in Homer's time may perhaps best be gathered from the 13th book of the Iliad: that of the close fight of infantry in particular from the action under the direction of Ajax, described in the 17th book.

(1) Iliad. l. xv. v. 571. 573. (2) Iliad. l. xiii. v. 165, & l. xiv. v. 408. (3) Iliad. l. xv. v. 615 & 618.

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SECT. III.

Iliad. l. v.
v. 528.
Vid. & l. xiv.
v. 128.

Iliad. l. xiii.
v. 246.
Iliad. l. iv.
v. 293.

his own age, was still extremely imperfect. Of all the leaders in the Iliad, unless we should except Ulysses and Nestor, Agamemnon is represented as most possessing the qualifications of a general: and yet, coming forward in the midst of a doubtful battle, when we might expect the able commander to show himself, we find nothing more from him than exhortation to bold exertion. Merion, an officer very high both in rank and estimation, happening to break his spear in action, immediately quits his command to go to his tent and provide himself with another weapon. Nestor, giving orders for an approaching battle, calls the infantry 'the prop of war;' but his directions are almost confined to the charioteers, and even to them discretionary: and, upon the whole, to show the troops the way, more than to command them, seems to have been the business of the chiefs. Excepting indeed in the single circumstance of forming the army in order of battle, so far from the general, we scarcely ever discover even the officer among Homer's heroes. It is not till most of the principal Grecian leaders are disabled by wounds from doing the duty of soldiers, that at length they so far take upon themselves that of officers as to endeavour to restore order among their broken phalanges: and even this is not done but at the particular instigation of the god Neptune. The introduction of a deity here may lead to suppose that the poet himself had ideas of the business of officers superior to the practice of his age. But after only general expressions concerning the attention paid to restore order and give efficacy to the phalanges*, we find a detail of methods taken to make the most of the particular strength and skill of the ablest individuals, as if that were a matter of greater importance.

We may, however, yet more wonder at another deficiency in Homer's art of war: the easy and obvious precaution of posting and relieving sentries, so essentially necessary to the safety of armies, was

* Τὸς δ' ἀνδρῶν περὶ τῶν ἐνέμων ἐνέμωνες ἄνδρες.
Iliad. l. xiv. v. 370.

And at the same time,

Τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐνέμων ἐνέμωνες φάιδμας ἔτατο.
v. 388.

utterly

utterly unknown. When, in the ill turn of the Grecian affairs, constant readiness for defence became more particularly necessary, it is mentioned as an instance of soldierlyship in the active Diomed, that he slept on his arms without his tent: but no kind of watch was kept: all his men were at the same time asleep around him: and the other leaders were yet less prepared against surprize. A guard, indeed, selected from the army, was set in the manner of a modern grand-guard or out-post: but, tho' commanded by two officers high both in rank and reputation, yet the commander in chief expresses his fear that, being overcome with fatigue, the whole guard might fall asleep and totally forget their duty *. The Trojans, who at the same time after their success slept on the field of battle, had no guard appointed by authority, but depended wholly upon the interest which every one had in preventing a surprize: 'They exhorted one another 'to be watchful,' says the poet. But the allies all slept; and he subjoins the reason, 'For they had no children or wives at hand.' However, tho' Homer does not expressly blame the defect, or propose a remedy; yet he gives, in the surprize of Rhesus, such an instance of the terrible disasters to which armies are exposed by intermission of watching, as might admonish his fellowcountrymen of the necessity of improving their practice.

Iliad. l. x.
v. 422.

The Greeks, and equally the Trojans and their allies, incamped with great regularity, and fortified if in danger of an attack from a superior enemy. Indeed Homer ascribes no superiority in the art of war, or even in personal courage, to his fellowcountrymen. Even those inland Asiatics, afterward so unwarlike †, are by Homer put upon a level with the bravest people. He gives the Mysians the character of persevering bravery ‡: and the Lycians are included with the Trojans and Dardanians under a very honorable epithet, which bespeaks them approved good soldiers in close fight §. The circum-

Iliad. l. x.
v. 471.

* —Φυλακῆς ἐπιστάρχῳ λαβόνται.

Iliad. l. x. v. 99.

† Ἀεγεῖαίτων Λυδῶν
Ὀρχοί.

as Æschylus contemptuously calls them. Pers.
p. 127. ed. H. Steph.

‡ Καταρτοδύμοι. Iliad. l. xiv. v. 512.

§ Ἀρχιμαχηταί. Iliad. l. xv. v. 425 & al.

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Hæd. l. i. p.

v. 437.

Hæd. l. xxiv.

v. 488.

Hæd. l. ix.

v. 659.

stance of tumultuous noise in the Trojan army, mentioned in the same passage of the *Iliad* where the praise of steady silence is given to the Greeks, is expressly accounted for by the poet himself; who ascribes it, not to any inferiority in discipline, but to the variety of languages spoken among the Trojan allies, which made the delivery of orders and acting in concert works of difficulty. Tents, like those now in use, seem to have been a late invention. The ancients, on desultory expeditions, and in marching through a country, slept with no shelter but their cloaks, as our light troops often carry none but a blanket. When they remained long on a spot they huddled. Achilles's tent or hut was built of fir, and thatched with reeds; and it seems to have had several apartments.

NAVIGATION had been much practised, long before Homer, in small open vessels, nearly such as are still common in the Mediterranean; and the poet gives no hint of any late advancement of the art. The seas indeed which nearly surround Greece, are singularly adverse to improvements upon that vast scale which oceans require, and which modern times have produced. Broken by innumerable capes and islands, whose coasts are mostly mountainous, and in some parts of extraordinary height, the Grecian seas are beyond all others subject to sudden and violent storms. These united circumstances, which have made the Greeks of all ages excellent boatmen, have contributed much to prevent them from becoming seamen. The skill and experience of the pilot, in the modern sense of the term, are constantly wanted: the science of the navigator is of little avail: even the compass is comparatively useless in the *Ægean*. The Mediterranean vessels now, not excepting the French, which are mostly navigated by Mediterranean sailors, never keep the sea there but with a fair wind. The English alone, accustomed in all their surrounding waters to a bolder navigation, commonly venture in the Archipelago to work to windward*. Sails were used in fair winds in Homer's time; but

* Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has navigation of the Adriatic. Converting once remarked an analogous circumstance in the with an English captain of a Turkey-ship, a man

the art of sailing was extremely imperfect. The mariners dependence was on his oars, which no vessel was without. For in seas so landlocked, yet so tempestuous, the greatest danger was to the stoutest ship. Light vessels, which with their oars could creep along the coast, watch the weather, make way in calms, and, on any threatening appearance, find shelter in shoal water or upon an open beach, were what Grecian navigation peculiarly required. The Phenicians, for their commerce, used deeper ships, accommodated to their more open seas and longer voyages. But for engagements oars gave so great an advantage, where calms as well as storms were frequent, that the ships of war among all the ancients were of the galley kind. The term long ships, both with Greeks and Romans, commonly distinguished them from vessels of burden, which were called round ships. Mr. Wood has supposed that naval actions were unknown in Homer's time: yet some terms used by the poet seem to prove the contrary *. The Grecian vessels were yet without decks: anchors also were unknown; nor does there seem any foundation for a common notion, that large stones were used as anchors. It appears rather to have been usual to moor vessels to large stones found on the shore †: but when any stay was made at a port, the vessel itself was drawn out of the water upon the beach. For the nature of the navigation requiring that the construction of the vessel should be adapted to rowing more than sailing, the depth of the vessel must be small, and the hands to work it many. Accommodations were therefore unavoidably scanty; and health as well as convenience would require that the crew should live ashore when not wanted aboard. We may compute the size of the largest vessels used in Homer's age, from the greatest number of men men-

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 13.

man of knowledge and character, he told me that he did not scruple, in tolerable weather, to work to windward; yet he made it a rule never to take off his clothes within the Arches (as our seamen call the Archipelago, which is itself a corruption of the modern Greek Aigio-pelago) and never to quit his deck without

orders to be called in the instant of any threatening appearance in the sky, or any dubious sight of land.

* Particularly *νῦμαχα*. *Iliad*. l. xv. v. 389 & 677.

† — *Πύγμα δ' ἔδυσαν ἀπὸ τρηπτοῦ λίθου*.
Odyss. l. xiii. v. 77.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP. III.

SECT. III.

Odysseus I. vii.
v. 34-54.

Wood on Ho-
mer.
Strabo, l. i.
p. 21.

tioned to have been carried by any one vessel of Agamemnon's fleet, which was one hundred and twenty; or perhaps still better from the crew of the Pheacian vessel ordered to carry Ulysses to Ithaca; they were fifty-two, all rowers. This vessel had a moveable mast, mentioned in the singular number, and sails in the plural. Hempen cordage seems not to have been known: its purposes were supplied by leathern thongs. The principal constellations of our hemisphere, and the apparent courses of the sun and stars had been observed; with the help of which the Greeks were able to navigate as far as Cyprus, Phenicia and Egypt*, tho their commerce yet seldom led them beyond the Ægean. The seas westward of Greece were less practised. Sicily remained a subject for fable, as the habitation of giants and monsters. The dangers of the Adriatic shores to coasting navigators kept them unexplored: and Strabo, deducing his proof from Homer, says that the Euxine was thought another ocean, and little more known than the Atlantic.

Of the sciences, ASTRONOMY would naturally be among the first to engage the attention of men. Its objects can neither escape notice, nor fail of exciting wonder; and its utility would quickly become obvious. The means of computing times and seasons, to know when new fruits and fresh harvests might be expected, were among first necessities. The sun, by its apparent daily revolution, gave a division of time perfectly obvious and highly useful; but difficult, without farther help, to carry to the computation of seasons. It would soon be observed, even in low latitudes, that the seasons followed the sun's apparent annual revolution; but to calculate that revolution with any approach, to accuracy, was a business not soon to be accomplished. The moon therefore, by the striking and rapid changes in its appearance, was, among the celestial luminaries, the

* See the account of Ulysses' voyage from the way, he was seventeen days out of sight the island of Calypso (1). With a fair wind all of land.

readiest instrument for calculation of time beyond a small number of days; and has accordingly been the first used among all uncultivated people. Hence, and not through any predilection for darkness and gloomy ideas, which has been absurdly enough attributed to them, arose that practice of our Teutonic ancestors, which we still in part retain, of reckoning time by nights rather than by days. It became then the business, through the obvious changes of the moon, to ascertain the less discernible but far more important changes of the sun, which govern the seasons. Twelve revolutions of the inferior were found nearly equal to one of the greater luminary; and three hundred fifty-four days, or twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, were accordingly assigned for the term of a year. This method of computing time seems to have passed from the East into Greece, where it was received into general use, and became so established for the purpose of ascertaining the return of days for civil business and religious ceremonies, that, notwithstanding its extreme inconveniencies, the more accurate subsequent calculations of the year could never intirely supersede its use. But a year thus deficient by near eleven days and a half of the real period of the earth's revolution round the sun, presently led to so erroneous a computation of seasons, that the husbandman particularly would find it utterly unfit for his purpose. In climates, therefore, where the sky was seldom long obscured by vapors, the stars were soon found to be far more accurate directors than the moon; while their changes were far more readily distinguished than those of the sun. Accordingly Hesiod, in his *Treatise on Husbandry*, marks the seasons for various works by the rising and setting of the stars; and we learn from his poems, and from Homer, that, in their early age, the more remarkable stars of our hemisphere were already classed in constellations, nearly in the same manner and by the same names as at this day. Ignorance of astronomy we find mentioned by Æschylus, speaking, in the person of Prometheus, of the state of mankind in the first ages, as a mark of the deepest barbarism; and observation of the stars as

Iliad. l. xviii.
v. 486.
Iliad. l. xxii.
v. 29.
Odys. l. vi.
v. 272.

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the first thing necessary to civilized life*. In our northern climate, the shortness of the summer-nights and the coldness of the winter, together with the greater frequency of obscuring vapors, make the stars less objects for the husbandman; while the greater variety in the apparent course of the sun, if the exactness with which the year is now divided by more artificial helps did not render it needless, would in a great degree answer the same purpose; and we accordingly still often find in our husbandmen surprizing accuracy in observing the sun. But the people of lower climates, deprived of the pleasant moderation of our summer-days, live, in the hot season, almost only in the night, and thus become astronomers naturally and almost necessarily.

The knowledge of the cure of internal diseases made, it should seem, in Homer's age, no part of the science of *PHYSIC*. It is remarkable that the poet nowhere speaks in plain terms of sickness. Diseases indeed, and mortal ones, are mentioned, but as the effect always of the immediate stroke of the Deity, and not of anything in the common course of nature. They seem thus to have been esteemed utterly beyond the reach of human skill to relieve. The epidemical sickness of the army before Troy was occasioned by the darts of Apollo, and could be removed only by the prayers of Chrysis. That scanty knowledge of nature to which the age had arrived, was applied only to relieve the effects of external violence upon the human frame. Skill in surgery was in the highest esteem†; tho it seems to have gone no farther than to the extraction of the instrument of a wound, and the application of a few simples for stopping hæmorrhages, and alluaging inflammations. Charms and incantations, therefore, were sometimes called in to its assistance, or even to supply its place. Ulysses, when very young, being wounded by a wild boar, the hæmorrhage was stopped by incantation‡.

* *Ἦν δ' ἐν δὲν αὐτοῖς ἔτε χρίματος τέχνη,*
Ὅστ' ἀθημόδους ἦρος, ὅτε καρπύμου
Θιγὸς βίβανον· ἀλλ' ἄτις γυνίης τὸ πᾶν
Ἐπρασσοι, ἵστε δὲ σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ

Ἄστυν ἰδοῖα, καὶ δυσκρίτους δέους.

Prometh. vincit. p. 31. ed. H. Steph.

† *Ἰντὲς γὰρ αὐτὴ πολλῶν αὐτάξιος ἄλλων.*

Iliad. l. xi. v. 514.

‡ *Ἐπαιδῆ.* Odyss. l. xix. v. 457.

SECTION IV.

Of the Manners of the early Greeks.

THE MANNERS of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; soil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchal or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; system of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce; communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age distinguished from those of subsequent times in Greece by many characteristic lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceased before Homer: but the eastern merchants still ingrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealousy of foreigners; whether from a republican industry with increased population; whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to decry foreign luxuries; or whether the propensity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse between the two countries lessened greatly. The most striking features in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness, and that hospitality, together with that union, at first view so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East so remarkably through all ages. These are, however, not the peculiar growth of any soil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne till within this century by the manners of the highland Scots to those of the Orientals in these particulars is striking. But in Greece, tho the ties of blood had such weight with the people among themselves,

yet

CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.

CHAP. III. yet we find nothing of clanſhip, nothing of that devoted attachment
 SECT. IV. of vaffals to the family of a chief, which diſtinguiſhed many of the
 Orientals, as well as our northern highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were eſtabliſhed in general opinion, ſome degree of reſpect would adhere to the known poſterity of a popular leader; but ſuperior perſonal qualities were always neceſſary to maintain even the poſſeſſion of rank and wealth.

There is a paſſage in the *Odyſſee* which illuſtrates remarkably at the ſame time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was propoſed among the ſuitors of Penelope to kill her ſon Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them heſitated. ‘To kill a perſon of royal race’, he ſays, ‘is no light matter. Let us therefore conſult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter approve it, myſelf will be among the firſt both to perſuade and to ſtrike the ſtroke: but, if the gods forbid, I adviſe to forbear.’ The perſon thus repreſented ſeriously expreſſing doubt whether the fouleſt murder might not be committed with approbation of the deity, is deſcribed of high birth, reſpectable character, and ſuperior underſtanding. But murders were ſo common that, without peculiar circumſtances of enormity, they ſcarcely left a ſtain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favorite perſonages of the *Iliad* and *Odyſſee*, as the author of the *Eſſay on the Original Genius of Homer* has obſerved, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in conſequence: not however to eſcape public juſtice; but to avoid the revenge of the relations of the deceased. Private revenge we know was formerly almoſt the only reſtraint upon the moſt atrocious crimes againſt individuals in our own country, and ſtill more in the reſt of weſtern Europe; inſomuch that, in the weakneſs of public juſtice, private revenge even received the ſanction, and was put under the guidance of the law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the Eaſt, a numerous progeny was ſo particularly eſteemed a great bleſſing to parents. A numerous family was always a powerful family: it could do juſtice to itſelf; and,

Odyſſ. l. xvi.
 v. 398.

Robertſon's
 Charles V.

and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity. But CHAP. III.
 ‘cruelty, violence and oppression’, says the writer just mentioned, SECT. IV.
 who had studied oriental manners from the life, ‘are so evidently the
 ‘result of defective government, that it is unnecessary to look for any
 ‘other general cause of the scenes of this sort with which Homer
 ‘abounds in common with other ancient writers, and agreeably to
 ‘the present manners of the East. For when every man is in great
 ‘measure judge in his own cause, vices of this class are not only more
 ‘frequent, but less criminal than in a civilized state, where the indi-
 ‘vidual transfers his resentments to the community, and private
 ‘injury expects redress from public justice. Where the legislature
 ‘does not engage for our personal security, we have a right to use
 ‘such means as are in our power to destroy the aggressor who would
 ‘destroy us. In such cases bodily strength and courage must decide
 ‘most contests; while, on the other hand, craft, cunning, and sur-
 ‘prize are the legitimate weapons of the weak against the strong.
 ‘We accordingly find, that both the ancient and the modern history
 ‘of the East is a continued scene of bloodshed and treachery.’ These
 very just reflections may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our
 censure on human nature in such unfortunate circumstances.

‘Hospitality,’ says the same writer, who had enjoyed such pecu-
 liar means of information on the subject, ‘prevails in most coun-
 ‘tries, and in the different provinces of each country, very much in
 ‘proportion to the idleness, poverty, and insecurity which attend a
 ‘defective police. It is some consolation, in so wretched a state of
 ‘society, that this virtue should be most cultivated where it is most
 ‘wanted. In Arabia the rights of hospitality, so properly called
 ‘the point of honor of the East, are the happy substitute of positive
 ‘law; which in some degree supplies the place of justice; connect-
 ‘ing, by a voluntary intercourse of good offices, those vagabond
 ‘tribes, who despise legislation, deny the perfect rights of mankind,
 ‘and set the civil magistrate at defiance. A strong instance of that
 ‘sympathizing principle in the social constitution of our nature,
 ‘which

CHAP. III. ' which the wisest government will encourage, and which the most
SECT. IV. ' depraved cannot suppress.' In confirmation of these judicious

remarks, we find it established as a principle in Homer, that ' to
Odyss. l. viii.
v. 547.

Odyss. l. vi.
v. 208. & l.
xiv. v. 58.
Vid. & l. viii.
v. 392. & l.
xv. v. 280.
Odyss. l. vii.

Odyss. l. iii.
v. 4.

' those not totally void of the feelings of humanity, the guest and
' the suppliant should be as a near relation : ' and he gives them a
divine right to kind treatment, alledging, that ' the stranger and
' the poor are from Jove.' The liberties taken by suppliant strangers,
and the confidence reposed in them, were consonant to these princi-
ples. Ulysses, saved alone from shipwreck on an unknown coast,
goes without introduction to the palace of the king of the country,
which is represented as singularly rich and splendid, enters the apart-
ments, and finding the king and queen at supper with the principal
nobles, abruptly addresses his supplication to the queen. Not only
kindness but honor is immediately shown to him ; he is lodged in
the palace ; and the next day the king, recommending him to favor
in an assembly of the people, declares at the same time that he knows
not who he is. It seems indeed to have been a general point of ci-
vility not hastily to ask any stranger who he was. Telemachus and
Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor,
prince of the country, with the assembled Pylian people on the shore,
in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public sacrifice. The
strangers are no sooner perceived approaching than the Pylians crowd
to meet them, salute them in terms of friendship, and invite them
to partake of the feast which always followed a sacrifice, and which
indeed seems to have been an essential part of the ceremony. They
were however not left to the civility of the multitude. Peisistratus,
son of Nestor, advancing before the rest, took them by the hand,
and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother.
When the meal was over Nestor spoke in these remarkable terms :
' Now the strangers have satisfied themselves with eating, it will be
' proper to ask them who they are, and whence they come. Stran-
' gers, who are you, and whence come you, navigating the watery
' ways ? Is it for any business, or do you roam at large, as pirates
' over

‘ over the sea ; those who wander, risking their own lives, and bringing evil upon others ? ’ Thucydides, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors ; and he observes upon it, that Nestor’s question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the strangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, tho they might be pirates. Telemachus and Peisistratus afterward going as hereditary guests, but not personally known, to Menelaus king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one inquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers just arrived in a chariot are waiting without, expresses displeasure at the mention of a doubt whether they were to be treated in the palace or provided elsewhere ; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall where he was sitting at a public supper with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came. In the same manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observes at the gate of his father’s palace ; goes out himself to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and then declare his errand. From these offices of hospitality, once performed, new and still more sacred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to show kindness to an hereditary guest ; to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

How necessary this generous point of honor was, to alleviate the miseries to which mankind in that unsettled state of law and government were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures scattered through Homer’s poems *. Beside the general in-

CHAP. III.

SECT. IV.

Thucyd. i. i.

c. 5.

Odyss. i. iv.

v. 1.

Odyss. i. i.

v. 119.

Iliad. i. vi.

v. 215 & al.

* There is a remarkable one, evidently Andromache’s speech, Iliad. xxii. 487. and taken from the poet’s own age, in a simile in Nestor’s account of his marauding expedition into Elia. II. xi. 670.

CHAP. III.

SECT. IV.

Iliad. l. ix.

v. 590.

competency of governments to secure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from foreign enemies; and this ruin was cruel, was complete. 'These are the evils,' we are told in the Iliad, 'that follow the capture of a town: the men are killed; the city is burnt to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried off for slaves.' 'Wretch that I am,' says the venerable Priam, 'what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence pervading even the chambers of my palace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs, perhaps in my very palace-gates!'

Iliad. l. xxii.
v. 60.

Where such was war the manners of warriors, even of the noblest characters, could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find, in the Iliad, men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting: they threaten, they revile, and sometimes jest in a very unseemly manner on the misfortunes of their adversaries. 'You whom the Greeks so honor above others,' says Hector to Diomed, 'are no better than a woman. Go, wretch!' Then follows the reason of this personal anger: 'You think to storm our city, and carry off our women in your ships.' After this the added threat however will not appear unreasonable: 'My arm,' continues Hector, 'shall first send you to the infernal deities.' With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the same nation and army use great illiberality of language one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that between Agamemnon and Achilles, Hector in a speech to Polydamas, and Oilean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford remarkable examples.

Iliad. l. viii.
v. 161.Iliad. l. xii.
v. 247.
Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 473.Iliad. l. vi.
v. 55.

It was little usual to give quarter. 'Why so tender-hearted?' says Agamemnon to Menelaus, seeing him hesitate while a Trojan of high rank, who had had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life? 'Are you and your house

‘house so beholden to the Trojans? Let not one of them escape destruction from our hands; no, not the child within his mother’s womb. Let all perish unmourned; let not a vestige of them be seen remaining.’ The poet gives the sanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity in a prince by no means generally characterized inhuman: ‘It was justly spoken,’ says Homer; ‘and he turned his brother’s mind.’ Menelaus, accordingly, pushed away the noble suppliant, and the king of men himself was the executioner who put the unresisting wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find so many amiable qualities, was not less infected with this barbarous spirit of his age. When he had killed Patroclus, and stripped him on the spot of his divine armour, he postponed the most pressing and most important concerns, equally of himself and of his country, to the gratification of weak revenge; losing sight of all the greater objects of battle while he struggled for the naked corpse, with intention to complete its contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan dogs; and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving it of those funeral rites which were, in the opinion of the times, necessary to the repose of souls after death. We must not therefore wonder that the common Greeks should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector himself when he was soon after slain; nor ought we to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of Achilles for the indignities with which he treated it; since both the morality and the religion of his age, far from condemning such conduct, evidently taught him to consider it as directed, not indeed by humanity, but by social affection, and enforced by that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his country required. When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came afterward in person to beg the body of his heroic son, we find the conduct of Achilles marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity. Yet in the very act of granting the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his departed friend for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corpse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to

Iliad. l. xvii.
v. 125.

Iliad. l. xxii.
v. 375.

Iliad. l. xxiv.
v. 592.

CHAP. III.

SECT. IV.

Hæd. I. xviii.
v. 176.

this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head of the principal person of the vanquished slain fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror only to suspend a suit of armour on a post; which, thus adorned, was termed a trophy. Perhaps fire-arms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a great measure the effect of chance; for it seldom can be ascertained from what hand precisely they come, and revenge thus wants its object. Other favorable circumstances it is true have assisted; but this, it may fairly be presumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

While such were the horrors of war continually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, and almost that anything beyond mere necessities of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune; and, even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could save only their lives from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality was of powerful effect to humanize a savage people, to excite a relish for elegance in stile of living, and to make the more refined joys of society more eagerly sought, as well as more easily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals; some had large tracts of land with numerous herds and flocks; others had none. This state of things is generally favorable to the arts; a few, who have a superabundance of wealth, being better able, and generally more willing to encourage them than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of hospitality would also assist toward the preservation of property to those families which had once acquired it. A sort of association was thus formed, which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration

nistration of law. Without some security thus derived we should scarcely have found distinction of rank so strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners under every disguise of a mean habit, and mean employment. This could never be without a wide distinction existing through successive generations. A youth is described elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person; 'such,' says the poet, 'as the sons of 'princes usually are.' It is remarkable that the youth thus described, was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength, however, and activity always go to the description of Homer's men of rank: but luxury, such as it was in those days, never is mentioned as unbecoming a hero; tho it was more particularly the privilege of the aged*. The wealthy, as we have already observed, had houses built of freestone, spacious, and with many apartments on different floors; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity †. The directions which Penelope's housekeeper gives to the menial servants for the business of the day might still serve in the East without variation: 'Go quickly,' she said, 'some of you sweep the house, 'and sprinkle it; and let the crimson carpets be spread upon the 'seats; let all the tables be well rubbed with sponges, and wash 'carefully the bowls and the cups. Some of you go immediately 'to the fountain for water.' No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid-servants were fifty; not

Odyss. l. xiii.
v. 223.

Odyss. l. xx.
v. 149.

Odyss. l. xxii.
v. 421.

* The speech of Ulysses, himself in disguise, to his father Laertes, digging in his garden, is remarkable:

Ὅδῃ τί τοι δούλιον ἐντερρίπτεῖς ὑπεράσχεθαι
Ἔδωξ' καὶ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν Ἴωνος.
Τινὲς γὰρ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν ἐπὶ δούλειο φέρουσι,
Ἐυδαιμονίᾳ μάλα κ' ἢ ἧς οἷός ἐστι γερνέμεν.

Odyss. l. xxiv. v. 254.

The commentators have observed a difficulty in this passage; but it is only a grammatical difficulty; the sense seems sufficiently obvious, yet the passage is scarcely to be translated with more accuracy than we find in Pope's version, in which however the characteristic word μέγιστος remains unnoticed; and

the term monarch is used for βασιλεὺς, which is not intended here for so strict a sense, being put as a general term for a nobleman, or man of high rank:—

—Nor speaks thy form a mean or servile mind.
I read a monarch in that princely air;
The same thy aspect, if the same thy care.
Soft sleep, fair garments, and the joys of wine,
These are the rights of age, and should be thine.

Pope's Odyss. b. xxiv. v. 301.

† See the reception of Telemachus at Pylos and at Sparta in the third and fourth books of the Odysee, as well as the conduct of Ulysses's household in various parts of the poem.

however

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however all employed in household business, but probably most of them in the manufacture of cloth, and making of clothes for the family. Men-servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses's household are described as comely youths, handsomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves.

It appears indeed, as we have already remarked, that since the age of Hercules and Theseus, considerable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Træzene to Athens is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylos to Sparta.

Odyss. l. xv.
v. 33².

Without attendants Telemachus and Peisistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horses. They carry with them provisions for the day. In the evening they arrive at Pheræ, where they are entertained by Diocles, a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story.

Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very anxiously observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial enjoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach*. Yet allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroic ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great elegance in Homer's convivial meetings. Once he makes express mention of drunkenness: but the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that persons of the highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But at the feasts of the great the song of the bard seldom failed to make a principal part of the entertainment. The bard indeed seems to have been a person of importance in the household establishment of every wealthy chief. His knowledge and memory, in the deficiency

Odyss. l. xxi.
v. 295.
See note * p.
28 of this vol.

Odyss. l. viii.
v. 62. Vid. et
Odyss. l. i. v.
153. l. iv. v.
17. l. xii. v.
330. & l. xxiii.
v. 133.

* *Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.* Horat. Epit. 19. l. i. v. 6.

of books, were to supply the place of a library: his skill in music and poetry were to convey the instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform even when pleasure was the only apparent object. In one instance Homer attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. Ægistheus could not accomplish his purpose of possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra and the principal sway in the Argian government, till he had removed the bard whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counsellor to the queen in his absence.

Women in the Homeric age enjoyed more freedom, and communicated more in business and amusement among men, than in subsequent ages has been usual in those eastern countries; far more than at Athens in the flourishing times of the commonwealth. In the *Iliad* we find Helen and Andromache appearing frequently in company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-servants, they walk through the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelope, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to show herself among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to have been imposed on virgins than on married women. Equally indeed Homer's elegant eulogies and Hesiod's severe sarcasm prove women to have been in their days important members of society. The character of Penelope in the *Odyssey* is the completest panegyric upon the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly colored picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation between Hector and Andromache in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. Even Helen, in spite of her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon our hearts in Homer's description by the modesty of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions indeed Homer shows a disposition to favor the sex: civility and attention to them he attributes most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the histo-

rical

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Strabo, l. i.
p. 15, 16.

Odys. l. iii.
v. 263.

Odys. l. viii.
v. 457.

Hesiod. *Op. &*
Di. l. i. v. 373.
& *Theogon.*
v. 570.

Iliad. l. ix.
v. 340.
Iliad. l. xxiv.
v. 762.

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rical nature of his poems, led him necessarily to speak of bad women : but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his utmost reprobation, still his delicacy toward the sex leads him to mention it in a manner that might tend to guard against that reproach which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one *. With some things of course widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency and even elegance of manners in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Of this Helen's conversations on the walls of Troy in the Iliad, and in her court at Sparta in the Odyssey, afford remarkable examples. One office of civility indeed, which we find usually performed by women in the heroic age, may excite our wonder : the business of attending men in bathing seems to have been peculiar to women ; and, in compliment to men of rank, was performed by virgins of the highest rank. When Telemachus visited Nestor at Pylos, the office of washing and clothing him was

* Pope, who was as little disposed to favor the sex as he was formed to be favored by them, has remarkably extended and aggravated his author's invective in the translation of this passage.

Ἦτε κατ' αἰσχροῖς ἔχετε, καὶ ἱερὰν ἔσαντο βίαν
Ἐλευτήριον ; ἰταῖε, καὶ ἢ κτερόνδ' ἦσαν,

Odys. l. xi. v. 455.

is the expression of the injured Agamemnon to Ulysses in the Elysian Fields. The meaning is simply this : ' Clytemnestra's wickedness has been so extreme, that it will communicate infamy to womankind through all futurity ; even the good will not escape reproach for it.' But in the translation which Pope either made or adopted, Agamemnon pronounces the whole sex perjured, and doubts if a single virtuous woman will ever be found :

— ' Thy deeds,' he says, ' disgrace the perjured sex, and blacken all the race : And should posterity one virtuous find, Name Clytemnestra, they will curse the kind.'

Pope's Odyssey. l. xi. v. 540.
Another strong instance of this turn in Pope, and where he has gone more out of his way to

show it, occurs in his note to the 450th verse of his translation of the ninth book of the Iliad. A strong instance of the contrary disposition in Homer, with proof that it remained to him in blindness, and probably in old age, appears in a beautiful and affecting address to the virgins who attended the festival in Delos, for which the Hymn to Apollo has been composed : and the passage is authenticated to us by Thucydides :

Νόμους ἡμεῖς πάντες ἴσμεν διὰ καὶ μετόπισθε Μουσῶν, ὅσοιτε αὖτε τις ἐπιθόνηται ἀδελφῶν ἑορῶν ἀείνεται ἕως παλαιότητος ἡμῶν, ὡς ῥέπει, τίς δ' ἄρ' ἡμῖν αὖτις ἔδωκε δαΐμον ἑορῶν παλαιοῖς, καὶ τίς νεώτεροις ἡμεῖς ; ὧμεῖς δ' οὖν μὲν πάντας ἐποτρύνετε ἑορῆας, τί φησὶ αὖτις, οἷός τις Νῆπ' ἐπὶ πανταίεσσιν.

Thucyd. l. iii. c. 104.

' Virgins all, joy attend you ! Remember me hereafter : and when any stranger from afar coming here shall ask, ' O Virgins, who is the sweetest poet that attends your festival, and with whom are you most delighted ? ' do you all kindly answer with one applauding voice, ' Our favorite is the blind man who lives in rocky Chios.'

assigned

assigned to the beautiful Polycaste, the virgin-daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulysses appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelope, uninformed who or what he was, merely in pursuance of the common rights of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulysses refused the honor, and desired an old woman; but the poet seems to have thought it necessary that he should apologize very particularly for such a singularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions of eastern jealousy, yet customs not absolutely dissimilar are still found among the Arabs. Indeed the general sentiments of the Turks toward the female sex are a strange compound of the grossest sensuality with the most scrupulous decency. For the credit of Homer, however, and of his age, it should be observed that, among all his variety of pictures of human passion, not a hint occurs of that unnatural sensuality which afterward so disgraced Grecian manners.

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Odyss. l. xix.
v. 317.

Sir James
Porter's Ob-
servations on
the Religion,
Laws, &c. of
the Turks.

It was customary in the heroic age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of the highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the Highlands of Scotland, for every family within itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in works of this kind. In Homer's time washing also was employment for ladies. The princess Nausicaa, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phæacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a sequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

It is matter of no small curiosity to compare the manners and principles of the heroic age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. There are strong lines of resemblance, and there are at the same time strong characteristic touches by which they stand distinguished. Greece was a country holding out to its possessors every delight of which humanity is capable; but where, through

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the

CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.Iliad. l. xvii.
v. 447.Mallet's Den-
mark.
Robertson's
Charles V.

the inefficiency of law, the instability of governments, and the character of the times, happiness was extremely precarious, and the change frequent from the height of bliss to the depth of misery. Hence, rather than from his natural temper, Homer seems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems *. He frequently adverts, in general reflections, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miserable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himself. His common epithet for war and battle is 'tearful †.' With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were subjects of highest joy and merriment: and this idea was supported in fact, we are well assured, to a most extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generosity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose; what circumstances gave the weaker sex so much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, so little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such universal influence among the fierce unlettered savages of the North; that gallantry which, with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many so highly salutary and honorable to mankind, will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and to those nations which have derived it thence.

* See particularly in the *Odyssey*, l. iv. † *Πόλεμος δακρυόεις*, *Iliad*. l. viii. v. 388. v. 93. l. viii. v. 523. l. xi. v. 620. l. xviii. *Μάχη δακρυόιστον*, *Iliad*. l. xiii. v. 765. v. 129.

CHAPTER IV.

The History of GREECE, from the TROJAN War to the Return of the HERACLEIDS ; and of the Grecian ORACLES, the Council of AMPHICTYONS, and the OLYMPIAN GAMES.

SECTION I.

Restoration of Orestes to the Throne of Argos. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians under the Heracleids, commonly called the Return of the Heracleids. Distinction of the Greek Nation into Ionic, Æolic, Attic, Doric.

TAKING Homer as our faithful guide for the history of this early age, we may conclude that no great revolution, nothing of any extensive consequence happened in Greece, after the troubles derived from the Trojan war had subsided, to the time when he composed his poems. The most important events which he has recorded, subsequent to the return of the Greeks from Troy, relate to the kingdom of Argos. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after living seven years in exile at Athens, in the eighth found means to revenge his father's death and recover his inheritance. He killed the usurper Ægistheus ; and his guilty mother Clytemnestra perished in the massacre. Mounting then the throne of Argos, he became a very powerful prince, and reigned with great reputation. Here the history of Homer ends ; and the manner in which these events are mentioned by him appears strongly to indicate that some of them were within his memory, and that the period of his life would not admit of his tracing history much farther *.

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SECT. I.

Odys. l. i.
v. 29 & 298.
l. iii. v. 196
& 303. & l.
xxiv. v. 33.

* This point will be farther discussed in the Appendix to the present chapter.

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SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 12.

Strabo, l. ix.
p. 427.

Herodot. l. ix.
c. 26.
Plato de Leg.
l. iii. p. 683.
t. ii.
Pausan. l. ii.
c. 18.
Herodot. l. vi.
c. 52.
Polyb. l. ii.
p. 178.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 383.
Pausan. l. v.
c. 1.

It was, according to Thucydides, whose simple affirmation carries more authority than that of any other writer, and upon this occasion has been universally followed, about eighty years after the destruction of Troy that a great revolution happened, which totally changed the population of a large part of Greece, and, in its consequences, that of all the western coast of Asia Minor, with which Homer was particularly conversant *. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from the persecution of Eurytheus, the last king of Argos of the Perseid family, to settle in Doris. Æpalus, chief of that province, in gratitude for important favors received from Hercules, is said to have adopted Hyllus, eldest son of that hero, by Deïaneira daughter of Æneus king of Ætolia, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Thus fortunately raised from the condition of suppliant exiles to that of sovereign princes, the posterity of Hercules were however not to be satisfied with a scanty command over herdsmen among the wilds of Æta and Parnassus. Esteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perseus, they never ceased to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which the superior policy and fortune of the family of Pelops had deprived them. Twice penetrating through the isthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, said to be great-grandsons of Hyllus, associating with themselves Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain their kinsman, crossed the Corinthian gulph from Naupactus, at the head of an army with which, excepting the mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the whole peninsula. Tisamenus, son of Orestes, forced from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Achaia, and maintained himself there. Of the rest the Heracleids became complete masters. Temenus took possession of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and, Aristodemus dying, his twin-sons Eurysthenes and

* His residence after he was become blind, as he says himself in those lines of the Hymn to Apollo which have the testimony of Thucydides to their authenticity, was in the island of Chios. Thucyd. l. iii. c. 104.

Procles were made joint kings of Lacedæmon : Corinth was given to Aletes, also a descendant of Hercules, and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus.

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Of the particulars of this important revolution, the struggles likely to be maintained by princes so established in their possessions as the Pelopids, and so connected by various ties of consanguinity and political interest, or the causes why little struggle was made, scarcely any information remains to us. It appears indeed that the Heracleid chiefs had interest within the peninsula; for, as we are informed by Strabo, Laconia was betrayed to them. They seem also to have set out with judiciously disclaiming all hostile intentions against the people of Peloponnesus, professing that their aim was only to recover their rights from princes who had usurped them. Farther than this even Pausanias was unable to gather. Nor are we more informed of the time employed in the conquest. But that the conquest was in the end complete, and that an intire revolution took place, not only in the government, but in the population also of the whole peninsula, except Arcadia, are facts amply authenticated. As soon as the division of the conquered country was agreed upon, the Heracleid princes, binding themselves by solemn oaths mutually to support one another in their respective allotments, exacted engagements upon oath to the same purpose from all their subjects. But their Dorian and Ætolian followers had not conquered rich and extensive provinces for others, to return themselves to their pristine poverty upon their native mountains. It was a matter perhaps equally of policy and of necessity to reward them with establishments in the newly acquired territories. A general oppression of the old inhabitants followed: great numbers emigrated: the rest were mostly reduced to slavery; and in the end the Heracleids and their immediate partizans remained sole lords of the soil throughout Peloponnesus, excepting Arcadia and Achaia.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 365.Pausan. l. ii.
c. 13.Plato, de Leg.
l. iii. p. 683.
t. ii. ed. Ser-
ran.Hæcat. Pan-
then.

This great change in the population of Greece, and the importance which the Dorian name acquired by it, among other consequences, occasioned

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occasioned a new distinction of the Grecian people, and brought forward to public attention some old ones, which in the time of Homer and Hesiod appear to have been little noticed. Concerning the barbarous hords who in earliest times occupied Greece under various names, Dryopes, Caucones, Aones, Leleges, Pelasgians and others, the diligent and judicious Strabo seems to have been unable to discover how far they were different people. They appear to have been much intermixed; but the Pelasgian name prevailed most on the continent, and the Lelegian in the islands. The Athenians and Arcadians, in whose country there had never, within the bounds of traditional memorials, been any complete revolution of the population, continued always to refer their origin, in part at least, to the Pelasgians. Revolutions, depriving the other Greeks of means to trace their ancestry so high, gave them at the same time new eras from which to begin their account of themselves, in consequence of which the old fell the more readily into oblivion. The Pelasgian name thus grew obsolete at an early period, and the Greek nation became distinguished into two hords, called Ionian and Æolian. Yet neither have we any certain information how this distinction arose; tho tradition names Æolus and Dorus, sons of Hellen the son of Deucalion, and Ion and Achæus sons of Xuthus, another son of Hellen, as the patriarchs of the Grecian people, from whom the appellations of their principal divisions were derived. The history of these princes, however, is uncertain in extreme; and Herodotus declares common tradition among the Greeks still in his time to have affirmed that the Æolians, as well as the Ionians, were anciently called Pelasgians. Yet the distinction of those hords, whatever it originally was, became in the course of ages more than nominal; since, tho their settlements were intermixed, and their language fundamentally one, each people still preserved its peculiar dialect. Attica was the principal settlement of the Ionians: its ancient inhabitants were usually distinguished by that name; and the country was called Ionia. Colonies migrating hence into Peloponnesus, occupied the province afterward named Achaia, but

Strabo, l. v.
p. 222. l. vii.
p. 321, 323.
l. l. p. 401.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 56. & l. viii.
c. 44.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 333.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 383.
Herodot. l. i.
c. 56, & l. vii.
c. 94.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 95.

Homer. Iliad.
l. ii. v. 575.
Herodot. l. vii.
c. 94.

but anciently *Ægialos* and *Ægialeia*; and the Ionian colonists were called *Ægialian Pelasgians*. The rest of Greece, within and without the isthmus, was possessed by the *Æolian* hord. Of the farther division of the Grecian people, which afterward arose, Strabo gives a clear account. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract about *Parnassus*, under the name of *Dorians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, had migrated thither from *Thessaly*, were, like the ancient *Atticans*, from the barrenness of their country, and their consequent poverty, little subject to invasion; and thus, while the other *Æolians*, from their frequent revolutions and intermixture with foreigners, acquired a new dialect, the *Dorians* alone retained their manners and language unaltered. When under the *Heracleids* they became masters of *Peloponnesus*, the ancient inhabitants were mostly either expelled or reduced to slavery; excepting those who under *Tisamenus* maintained themselves in *Achaia*, and the *Arcadians*, who with their mountains preserved their freedom. The exiles passed to *Asia Minor*, and overpowering there the *Asiatics*, as they had been themselves overpowered by the *Dorians*, they established colonies all along the western coast of that country. Four distinctions of the Grecian people now arose out of the original two. The *Dorian* name prevailed in all the establishments of the *Heracleids*, and was preserved by all the colonies founded by their descendants in *Asia*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and wheresoever else. The *Athenians* also rose to such preëminence above all other people of *Ionian* race, that their name likewise prevailed over that of their hord; and thus the two original dialects of the Greek language acquired the new names of *Doric* and *Attic*, while the two other principal dialects, which various circumstances had contributed to alter, retained the ancient appellations of *Æolic* and *Ionic*. But all the *Grecians* without the isthmus, except the *Athenians* and *Megarians*, claimed *Æolian* origin. The *Megarians*, tho of *Æolian* race, yet being a *Dorian* colony from *Peloponnesus*, chose to retain the distinction of the *Doric* name. The *Ionian* name

was

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Strabo, l. viii.
p. 385.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 56.

Herodot. Parnathen.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 364, 365.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 335.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 392, 393.
Herodot. l. i.
c. 143.

CHAP. IV. was rejected in Greece, and retained only by those Ionians who mi-
 SECT. I. grated into Asia and the islands; and to them the dialect called Ionic
 was peculiar.

SECTION II.

Of the Origin and Progress of Oracles.

THE history of a people divided like the Greeks into many little states, each of which exercised complete sovereignty within its own territory, cannot be traced in so connected a manner as that of those nations whose parts are united under one system of government. Historians have therefore found it convenient, after giving a summary account of the remoter ages, to select two commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon, as main channels in which their narrative should run; contenting themselves with but occasionally relating the more important transactions of the rest. While the same method is followed here equally from necessity and choice, the business of the historian, it should seem, were very incompletely executed should he omit to investigate, with some accuracy, the circumstances which principally contributed to keep so many independent and eternally warring states, without any express league, and often without any very obvious common interest, still in some measure united, still always to esteem themselves one people, so as to acquire (for they had them not in the early periods of their history) singularly strong lines of distinction from all the rest of mankind.

Tho, among the consequences of the great revolution effected by the Heracleids, a separation in national pride, opposition in national prejudices, and even national antipathies might be liable to arise among the Grecian people, the Dorians yet fortunately brought with them from their former country habits, opinions, and attachments, not only tending to correct the mischievous effects of political jealousies among the several independent states which they established in Peloponnesus, but also to preserve and even increase the intercourse,
 and

and strengthen the connection with the rest of Greece. The province of Doris was chiefly composed of the northern branches of the lofty ridge of Parnassus, at the southern end of which Delphi was situated. The oracle of this place had been for some time increasing in reputation among the people of the neighbouring provinces; and it was not without the encouragement of some responses, which admitted a favorable interpretation, that the Heracleids had engaged in their enterprise. Their full success therefore could not fail to extend the fame and increase the credit of the oracle. The great bond indeed which first united, and afterward for ages principally held the Greeks together, was their religion. Of the early state of this, and some principal circumstances in its rise and progress, from among those which can be sufficiently ascertained for any notice in history, it has been already endeavoured to give an account. It will be the place here to make some inquiry concerning those reputed means of regular communication with the deity, less known in earlier times, but which, in the period to which we are approaching, became political engines of singular powers, and had their effect on almost every important occurrence. It were indeed a very vain attempt to pursue through all its intricacies the history of institutions founded upon ignorance, and raised by deceit, at an age far beyond the reach of written memorials, and ever afterward, during their existence through many centuries, covered from common observation with the utmost caution of interested ingenuity favored by political power. But as the subject is not only curious in itself, but important to the history before us, it shall be endeavoured here to reduce under one point of view what can be collected from ancient writers principally tending to illustrate the early circumstances of oracles.

Superstition was formed into a system in Egypt at an age prior to our first accounts of it. Vast temples were built, innumerable ceremonies established; the same body forming the hereditary priesthood and the nobility of the nation, directed with a high hand the belief and the consciences of the people; and prophecy was not only among
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SECT. II.Herodot. l. ii.
c. 54.

their pretensions, but perhaps the most indispensable part of their office. We have already had occasion to remark how usual it was with the Phenician traders, then the general carriers of the Mediterranean, to steal women. It happened that the master of a Phenician vessel carried off a woman-attendant of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes on the Nile, and sold her in Thesprotia, a mountainous tract in the northwest part of Epirus bordering on the Illyric hords. Reduced thus unhappily to slavery among barbarians, the woman however soon became sensible of the superiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over them; and she conceived hopes of mending her condition by practising upon their ignorance what she had acquired of those arts which, in able hands, imposed upon a more inlightened people. She gave out that she possessed all the powers of prophecy to which the Egyptian priests pretended; that she could discover present secrets and foretel future events. Her pretensions excited curiosity: she chose her station under the shade of a spreading oak, where in the name of the god Jupiter she delivered answers to numbers who came to consult her; and shortly her reputation as a prophetess extended as far as the people of the country themselves communicated. These simple circumstances of her story were afterward, according to the genius of those ages, turned into a fable, which was commonly told in Herodotus's time by the Dodonæan priests. A black pigeon, they said, flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona, and perching on an oak, proclaimed with human voice, 'That an oracle of Jupiter should be established there*.' The Dodonæans, concluding that a divinity spoke through the agency of the pigeon, obeyed the mandate, and the oracle was established. The historian accounts for the fiction thus: The woman, on her arrival, speaking in a foreign dialect, the Dodonæans said she spoke like a

* Homer, (Odyss. xiv. 328, & xix. 297.) Æschylus, (Prometh. vinct. v. 827.) and Strabo (l. v. p. 328) call the prophetic tree Δελφύ.

Hesiod (as quoted by the scholiast upon the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, v. 1174.) and Herodotus, l. ii. c. 55. call it Φαίηξ.

pigeon :

pigeon: but afterward, when she had acquired the Grecian speech and accent, they said the pigeon, who from her darker complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human voice. The trade of prophecy being both easy and lucrative, the office of prophets was readily supplied both with associates and successors. A temple for the deity and habitations for his ministers were built; and thus, according to the evidently honest, and apparently well-founded and judicious account of Herodotus, arose the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place where tradition, still remaining to the days of that writer, testified that sacrifices had formerly been performed to the nameless God.

In consequence probably of the success of Dodona, oracles were in remote ages attempted in various places*. Olympia, as we learn from Strabo, before the establishment of its games, was famous for the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; which however ceased at an early period. But priests and soothsayers, finding that oracles engaged popular attention more, and of course were more lucrative than the pretension to the gift of prophecy attached to the mere person of the prophet, eagerly seized any opportunity to establish them. Many of these succeeded for a time, and decayed. But the oracle which held its reputation, and extended it, we may say, over the world, was

Strabo, l. viii.
P. 353.

* The learned Mr. Hardion in his first Dissertation on the oracle of Delphi, (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.) undertakes to prove from Herodotus himself, that Herodotus is wrong in asserting the Dodonean oracle to have been the oldest of Greece. But the whole of his argument rests on a supposition that the Pelasgians, founders of the Dodonean oracle, originated from a handful of savages (une poignée d'hommes, ou, pour mieux dire, des brutes) first assembled under Pelasgus on the mountains of Arcadia, long after the establishment of the Delphian oracle. Nothing however in ancient Grecian tradition appears more certain than that the Pelasgian name and

people had a very different origin (1); nothing more uncertain than the time when the Delphian oracle was first established; and scarcely anything more evidently fabulous than those reports of the early consultation of it, on whose authority Mr. Hardion has not scrupled to say, 'il est INCONTESTABLE qu'il étoit établi même avant le déluge de Deucalion.' The first account of the consultation of the Delphian oracle to which Strabo seems to have paid any credit was that of Homer, who mentions a response to Agamemnon before the Trojan war. See Strabo, l. ix. p. 417.

(1) See p. 18 of this Volume.

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Delphi. Of this celebrated place so many fables are related, some of them referred to times long before any authentic account of an oracle existing in Greece, that the writer whose subject calls for some elucidation of this matter, finds no small difficulty to determine what not to reject of all that has been said upon it. Indeed on this mythological ground, where even the antiquarian and the professed dissertator should tread with caution, the historian cannot but hesitate at every step. He will certainly not attempt to lead his reader a regular journey through it; but he may point out to him a few spots of the firmer soil, which, without risk of material deception, may enable him to form some general idea of the whole.

Strabo, l. viii.
 p. 418.

Strabo, l. ix.
 p. 419.

Diodor. Sic.
 l. xvi. c. 26.
 Pausan. l. x.
 c. 5.

On the southern side of mount Parnassus, within the western border of Phocis against Locris, and at no great distance from the seaport towns of Crissa and Cirrha, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheater, difficult of access; in the midst of which was a deep cavern discharging from a narrow orifice a vapor that powerfully affected the brain of those who came within its influence. That diligent antiquarian Diodorus Siculus reports that this was first brought to public notice by a goatherd, whose goats, browsing on the brink, were thrown into singular convulsions; upon which the man, going to the spot and endeavouring to look into the chasm, became himself agitated like one frantic. These extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighbourhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deity residing in the place. Phrenzy of every kind, among the Greeks even in more enlightened times, was supposed the effect of divine inspiration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic were regarded as prophetic. A spot therefore to which herdsmen only and their goats had hitherto thought it worth while to climb over the rugged sides of the mountain, now became an object of extensive curiosity: it was said to be the oracle of the goddess Earth: the rude inhabitants, from all the neighbouring parts, resorted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any one of them intoxicated himself with the vapor,
 and

and then whatever he uttered passed for prophecy. But the function of prophet, under these circumstances, was not a little dangerous; for, according to Diodorus, many, through the intoxication, unable to guide themselves, fell into the cavern and were lost. In consequence of this an assembly of the neighboring inhabitants was convened; in which it was determined that one person, appointed by public authority, should alone be permitted to receive the inspiration and render the responses of the divinity; and that the security of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chafin, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with safety. A virgin was preferred for the sacred office; and the frame was made resting on three feet, and thence called a tripod; the origin, says the historian just mentioned, of that favorite form which was afterward given to such various utensils of the Greeks and Romans. On this frame the prophetess, who, from some circumstance not now, certainly known, acquired the title of Pythia or Pythoness, mounted when there was occasion to exercise her function of revealing the will of the divinity. The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a farther establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern, priests were appointed, ceremonies were prescribed, sacrifices were performed. A revenue now was necessary. All therefore who would consult the oracle henceforward, must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place no longer then depended simply on the superstition of the people: the interest of the priests became its guardian. Hence, according to Hardion's very probable conjecture, the change of divinities supposed to preside at Delphi. The profits produced by the prophetic abilities of the goddess Earth beginning to fail, it was asserted that the god Neptune had associated himself with her in the oracle. After this the goddess Themis was said to have succeeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiosity became necessary. If the attempt to sift fact from fable may in any case be indulged to the historian, the hymn

Differt. sur
l'Oracle de
Delphes.
Mem. de l'Acad.
des Inscrip.
Pausan. l. x.
c. 5.
Æschyl. Eumen.
init.

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to Apollo, transmitted to us as the composition of Homer, seems to offer so probable an account of the next and final change in the property of this celebrated place, that it may be permitted to introduce it here.

Apollo was a deity of great reputation in the islands and in Asia Minor, but hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a vessel from Gnosus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and the crew landing proceeded immediately up the neighboring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a wonderful story was circulated, 'That this vessel, being bound to Pylos on the coast of Messenia, 'had been forced by a preternatural power beyond that port; and, 'while the crew, in astonishment, were perfectly passive, had been 'conducted with surprizing exactness and expedition to Crissa: that 'a dolphin of uncommon magnitude had accompanied the vessel, apparently with authority, and, on their arrival at Crissa, discovered 'himself to the crew to be the great and beneficent god Apollo; ordering them at the same time to follow him to Delphi, where 'they should become his priests.' The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plainly for some time been wrong: Apollo was now the presiding power of the place, and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers (for Crete, as we have seen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece) the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being really near the center of Greece, was reported to be the center of the world; miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance, and Navel of the Earth was among the titles which it acquired*. Perhaps at this time the Pythian games had their origin in the prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretan. It

Pausan. l. x.
c. 7.

* Strabo, l. ix. p. 419. Mr. Bryant has accounted for this title ingeniously, and perhaps justly, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 240.

was not till long after that athletic exercises and chariot-races were introduced in imitation of the Olympian. But Delphi became early a considerable town. Situate as it was among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Bœotian plain was not far distant, and the neighbourhood of the sea was a great additional convenience. Before Homer's time, if we may credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone with some magnificence. The increasing importance of the oracle brought it, probably soon after Homer's age, under the particular protection of the Amphictyonic council; an institution of which an account will presently be given. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spread its fame and enlarged its influence; which quickly so extended, that nothing of moment within Greece was undertaken by states, or even by private persons who could afford the expence, without first consulting the oracle of Delphi; particularly in circumstances of doubt, anxiety, and distress, Delphi was the refuge. A present upon these occasions was always necessary; and princes and opulent persons endeavored to conciliate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to superstition in bringing riches to the temple. The names of those who made considerable presents were always registered; and when statues, tripods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor. The prophetic business was generally conducted with great caution and judgement, and we are not without good information, scattered in different ancient authors, of the manner of it. The Pythoness was chosen from among mountain cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always required that she should be a virgin, and originally she was taken very young. The purity of virgin innocence, to which the Greeks always attached an idea of mysterious sanctity, made a girl most fit, in vulgar opinion, to receive the influence of the god; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the same time

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SECT. II.

Wheeler's
Journey into
Greece, b. iv.
p. 316.

Diodor. Sic.
l. xvi. c. 26.

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Diod. Sic.
l. xvi. c. 26.

time very commodious for the purposes of the priests. Once appointed she was never to quit the temple. But unfortunately it happened that one Pythoness made her escape: her singular beauty enamored a young Thessalian, who succeeded in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. After this it was decreed that no Pythoness should be appointed under fifty years of age; but that in simplicity she should still be the nearest possible to a child; and that even the dress peculiar to girls should be preserved to her. The office of Pythoness appears not to have been desirable. Either the emanation from the cavern, or some art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priests intitled prophets led her to the sacred tripod, force being often necessary for that purpose, and held her on it till her phrenzy rose to whatever pitch was in their judgement most fit for the occasion.

Plutarch. de
Defect. Orac.Strabo, l. ix.
P. 419.

There are accounts of Pythonesses expiring almost immediately after quitting the tripod, and even on the tripod. The broken accents which the wretch uttered in her agony were collected and arranged by the prophets, and then promulgated, till a late period always in verse, as the answer of the god. But there were a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and those the priests contrived to have variable at their discretion. Previous sacrifices were moreover necessary, and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness could not mount the tripod. Thus the priests had it always in their power to deny answers, to delay answers, or to give answers direct, dubious, or unintelligible, as they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities therefore of arrogating the merit of true prophecy, the oracle avoided all risk of being convicted of false; tho such misfortune happened to many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi; which thence acquired the reputation, delivered to us in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, of being the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction

Strabo, l. ix.
P. 419.

tion of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

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SECT. II.

SECTION III.

Of the Origin and Constitution of the Council of Amphictyons.

IT will now be necessary again to revert for a moment to the fabulous ages for the origin of an establishment which became important in the political connection of the Grecian people; much from the nature of its constitution, but still more through its charge over that celebrated residence of Apollo of which an account has just been given. Among the dark confusion and fanciful falsehood of ancient tradition we find some assurance that there were, in very early times, people inhabiting to the northward of mount Cæta, and along the coast of the Ægean sea eastward as far as the Hellespont, more enlightened than the southern Greeks; who in after ages acknowledged obligation to instructors from that country in religion, morality, legislation, and their vehicles music and poetry. We may gather also that the numerous barbarians of the extensive inland country, continually harassing the more civilized inhabitants of the coast, drove some to seek securer settlements elsewhere; and by preventing the cultivation of the arts of peace, reduced the rest to become barbarians like themselves. Greece possessed advantageous barriers against those evils in its several ranges of almost impassable mountains stretching across the country from sea to sea. The southern parts therefore, with the islands, afforded refuge for those inhabitants of the northern coast who had means of transporting themselves, and effects to subsist on; and Thrace, as we have already observed, thus shared with Egypt and Phenicia in the honor of civilizing Greece. Thessaly, however, from lying more exposed to numerous hords of barbarians, as well as from the fruitfulness of its soil, so inviting to invaders, was in elder times peculiarly subject

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to revolutions. Yet, among the uncertain and romantic traditions remaining to us concerning this country, there appears foundation to believe that it was, at a very early period, governed by princes more powerful and more informed than their cotemporaries of southern Greece. Among these the name of Deucalion is famous. But tho' this personage on many accounts excites curiosity, in vain would history investigate the events of his reign. His son Amphictyon has been generally reputed the author of the renowned institution which always bore his name. Report however concerning this prince also is too vague for history to follow: the institution itself therefore will alone be the object of our inquiry.

Ages before letters began to record the transactions of the Greeks, a regular establishment had been made of an assembly of deputies from the provinces about mount Ceta, who met twice yearly in a temple dedicated to the goddess Ceres near the mouth of the river Asopus, at that pass of Thermopylæ which afterward became so famous. The apparent purpose of the institution was to obviate the evils daily arising from the small extent of the several states, continual rapine, war, and bloodshed among themselves, not without constant danger of utter ruin from foreign barbarians. The business therefore of the assembly was to decide all disputes between the states of whose deputies it was composed*, and to concert common measures of defence against foreign enemies. These states are said to have been at first only those over which Deucalion had reigned; comprehending however, beside Thessaly, some provinces southward of mount Ceta. Amphictyon, son of that prince, is reported to have added Attica to his father's dominions; and from him, as the founder, the assembly at Thermopylæ always bore the name of Amphictyonic, and the members of it were called Amphictyons†. But the people of the

* — 'Απεδίδξαν τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ὅσαι πόλεις πρὸς πόλεις ἦσαν. Strabo, l. ix. p. 420.

† Such appears to have been the most received opinion of the most judicious antiquarians among the ancients, tho' it was not undisputed. The obvious application of the

word, with a very small alteration, Ἀμφικτυόν, as a description instead of an arbitrary appellation of the persons who composed the assembly, led some to suppose that this was the true name. See Pausan. l. x. c. 8.

several



several states which sent deputies, are said at the same time to have received the name of Hellenes from Hellen, another son of Deucalion, who we are told succeeded his father in that part of his dominions which lay on the Thessalian side of mount Ceta. This name in process of time prevailed so as to become the distinguishing appellation of the Greeks in general; through what means we are not satisfactorily informed by Grecian writers, but apparently nothing contributed so much as the extensive reputation and influence which the Amphictyonic council acquired. For at an era far beyond the reach of connected history, the jurisdiction of this assembly very considerably exceeded the supposed bounds of Deucalion's kingdom. Strabo attributes the regulations which became the basis of its constitution to Acrisius king of Argos, grandfather of the hero Perseus. Indeed he rejects as of no authority all accounts of the assembly before the age of that prince, declaring positively that what preceded was unknown*. The conjectures of the Grecian chronologers, with which however the geographer shows himself everywhere little satisfied, placed Amphictyon a century and a half earlier than Acrisius. Sir Isaac Newton supposed them cotemporary, and about a century older than the Trojan war. If the English philosopher is right concerning the chronology, we must add the supposition of a league between the most powerful prince of the northern and the most powerful prince of the southern parts of Greece; and this, tho we have no authority for it, appears the most probable way of accounting for the interference of a king of Argos, not mentioned by any tradition as a conqueror, in the regulation of an assembly of states at Thermopylae. In Homer we find no mention of the Amphictyonic assembly: but the ready acquiescence which the poet ascribes to all the Grecian chiefs, as far as the utmost bounds of Thessaly, under the authority of Agamemnon, and the acknowledgement even of the proud and powerful Achilles himself, appear strongly to indicate that the Argian

* Τὰ πάλαι μὲν οὐκ ᾔδεισαν Ἀργίους δὲ τῶν μνημονευμένων πρῶτος διατάξαι δοκεῖ τὰ περὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόσις, κ. τ. λ. Strabo, l. ix. p. 420.

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princes had, through some means, from of old maintained an influence among the northern provinces. It was still a very early period when the supreme direction of the concerns of the Delphian oracle, and of the treasures which the superstition of the times poured in presents to the god supposed to preside there, was submitted to the Amphictyons; in consequence of which their vernal session was removed from Thermopylæ to Delphi, and ever after held there. With the increase of the reputation of the oracle, the importance of the Amphictyonic assembly increased; and the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids very greatly extended both. For the Dorians being an Amphictyonic people, as it was termed, all the states where they established their power became also Amphictyonic. But Athens, chief of the Ionic hord, was likewise an Amphictyonic state. All states of Ionic origin, therefore, derived or claimed thence a right to have their representatives in the council; and thus it seems to have been that the name Hellenes obtained universal acceptance as the general name of all the Greeks, to the exclusion of the Macedonians and Epirots*. The Delphian people were, however, still acknowledged the legal possessors of the temple; they acquired a degree of sacredness of character through the extreme veneration in which it was so widely held; the whole extent of mount Parnassus obtaining at length the reputation of sacred ground; and the Delphians were allowed large privileges as the priests, the at-

Strabo, l. ix.
P. 417.

* This seems supported by Homer's use of the name. He is evidently always at a loss for one collective appellation for the Greeks. But in the 3^d line of his catalogue, he plainly means to include the whole nation under the two names PANHELLENES and ACHÆIOI; the former seemingly intended for the northern Greeks, the latter for the southern. Thus also in the *Odyssey* he apparently intends the northern division of the country by the name HELLAS, and the southern by the name ARGOS (1), where under the two he means evidently to include

the whole of Greece. The appellation DANAŌI appears to mark the southern Greeks only, or however chiefly. Strabo indeed tells us (2), that Argos was anciently the name of all Peloponnesus; that afterward the epithet Achaic used by Homer, was added from the Phthiot Achæians, who came into the peninsula with Pelops, and settled in Laconia; and that Danaï was a name which the Peloponnesian Pelasgians derived from the Egyptian Danaus.

(1) *Odys.* i. 344. iv. 726. & 816. & xv. 30.

(2) l. vii. p. 365. l. viii. p. 371.

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tendants, and as it were the family of Apollo. But it is not improbable that the very reputation of their oracle became a burthen to them; that the numbers and power of those who came to consult it were too great for the Delphians to preserve the sway necessary for deciding controversies, and regulating proceedings; that even the riches continually increasing under their care, served but to make their situation the more alarming; and thus, if they did not even desire it, they at least acquiesced under the interposition of so respectable an authority as that of the Amphiſtyonic council. It appears too, that the power thus acquired by that assembly over everything relative to the most interesting point of Grecian superstition, was the circumstance which principally contributed to increase its influence, to make it an object for every state to have its representative among the members, and to raise it to be what the great Athenian orator calls it, the general council of the Greeks.

But the Amphiſtyonic assembly, obscure in its origin through extreme antiquity, is not accurately known to us even in those ages from which we might expect accurate information. What the most diligent and judicious modern writers have been able to collect on best authority concerning it, is principally this*. Every independent Grecian state, with perhaps some few occasional exceptions only, had a right either of itself, or in conjunction with one or more other states, to send two deputies or representatives. One of these, with the title of Pylagoras, whose office was to transact the civil business of his constituents, was elected by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens: the other, from his particular privilege of superintending religion and its rites, called hieromnemon, was appointed by lot. Each had an equal vote on every occasion in which the authority of the council was exerted; and no Amphiſtyon derived any legal privilege or au-

* What remains from ancient authors upon the subject has been largely collected by Dean Prideaux, in his *Treatise on the Oxford Marbles*. Dr. Leland, in the preliminary

Discourse to his *History of Philip of Macedon*, has digested and compared whatever has been transmitted by ancient, and imagined by modern, writers about it.

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thority from the rank or estimation which his constituents held among the Grecian states, but all were properly peers. One hieromnemon presided; and it seems probable that the hieromnemon of every state exercised this presidency in rotation. The meeting was opened with solemn sacrifices; at Thermopylæ to Ceres; at Delphi to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva. The nature of the jurisdiction of the assembly, and the extent of its power, may be in a great measure gathered from the oath taken by every member, which has, perhaps the whole, but at least a large part and probably the most important, been preserved in an oration of Æschines. It runs thus:

Æschin. Orat.
de falsa Legat.

‘ I swear that I will never subvert any Amphictyonic city: I will never stop the courses of their water either in war or peace. If any such outrages be attempted, I will oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those cities which are guilty of such attempts. If any devastations be committed in the territory of the god, if any shall be privy to such offence, or entertain any design against the temple, I will use my hands, my feet, my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign punishment.’ An awful imprecation was subjoined, well imagined to infuse a dread of the guilt of perjury: ‘ If any shall violate any part of this solemn engagement, whether city, private person, or nation, may such violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident. May their land never produce its fruits: May their women never bring forth children of the same nature with the parents, but offspring unnatural and monstrous: May they be forever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, and in all civil transactions; and may their families and their whole race be utterly destroyed: May they never offer an acceptable sacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident, but may all their sacred rites be forever rejected.’ The first part of this oath is directed to what was really the most important business of the assembly, and which seems to have been with great wisdom and humanity proposed as the principal end of the institution, the establishment and support of a kind of law
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of nations among the Greeks, that might check the violence of war among themselves, and finally prevent those horrors, that extremity of misery, which the barbarity of elder times usually made the lot of the vanquished. Perhaps the view of the founders went yet farther; to bring all disputes between Amphiſtyonic ſtates before this tribunal, and totally to ſtop war among them, or to puniſh it as private war and rebellion. To this however, amid the jealous claims of every Grecian city to abſolute independency, the Amphiſtyonic council was never equal. Revolutions in early times reduced it to obſcurity: and when afterward the increaſing fame of the Delphian oracle, under its protection, gave it new conſequence, its members wiſely avoided the attempt to exert an authority which they wanted power effectually to ſupport. Conteſts between ſtates were, however, always eſteemed proper objects of its jurifdiction: but the ſuperintendency of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly its office. Its authority to fine any Amphiſtyonic ſtate, and, in caſe of non-compliance with injunctions, even to levy forces, and to make war on the diſobedient, were allowed. Of diſputes between private perſons it never condeſcended to take cogniſance. Its proceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and its decrees, notwithstanding its deficiency of power, were always highly reſpected.

SECTION IV.

Early Diffentions of the Heracleid Princes. Unſettled State of Peloponneſus. Origin of the Grecian Games. Inſtitution of the Olympic Feſtival by Iphitus king of Elis.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDS, as the Dorian conqueſt is commonly termed by Grecian writers, produced a revolution in Peloponneſus ſo complete that, except in the rugged province of Arcadia, nothing remained unaltered. The Argian princes of the family of Pelops had acquired ſuch ſuperior power, and a legal præminence which

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Pausan. l. iv.
 c. 3.
 Herodot. l. v.
 c. 52.

Thucyd. l. i.
 c. 13.
 Plutarch.
 Lysurg.

which they claimed seems to have been so generally admitted, that under them one government in some degree pervaded the peninsula: the administration of law gained consistency, civility advanced, and arts began to show themselves. But the Dorian conquest quickly reduced all to that ruder state in which the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains: arts and civility fled with the old inhabitants to flourish in another soil. The first care of the conquering chiefs was to secure their acquisitions against any attempts of the former possessors: their next seems to have been to prevent any one among themselves from acquiring a superiority above the rest. Thus probably they hoped to provide against the evils equally of foreign invasion and of domestic jealousy. But in the very partition of the country, we are told, a cause of future discord arose. Aristodemus died. His followers, to whom Laconia was allotted, thought they had an equal claim to the fairer portion of Messenia, a less mountainous and more generally fruitful country, of which they were deprived only through the inability of their infant sovereigns, sons of their deceased leader, to assert their rights. The boundaries also of the several allotments were, in the haste of division, not everywhere accurately ascertained, and early disputes about these led to hostilities. Within the several governments moreover, for many years after so violent a revolution, the unsettled state of things would often call for the strong arm of power to repress outrage and enforce order. Violence would arise sometimes on the part of the princes; and a conquering people, rude, but highspirited, was little disposed to admit patiently any exertion of authority not perfectly warranted by established custom. Thus, in every state, internal dissensions were seldom interrupted but by external war: and any long intermission of this the situation of Arcadia sufficed to prevent. Sheltered by their mountains in their property and their freedom, the Arcadians, bordering upon all, were the natural enemies of all. Peloponnesus thus was relapsing into a state of anarchy and barbarism like that in which it had existed before Pelops and Hercules.

From

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From very early times it had been customary among the Greeks to hold numerous meetings for purposes of festivity and social amusement. A foot-race, a wrestling-match, or some other rude trial of bodily strength and activity formed originally the principal entertainment; so far only perhaps more respectable in its kind than our country wakes, as it had more immediate reference to that almost ceaseless warfare which prevailed in elder Greece. It was probably the connection of these games with the warlike character that occasioned their introduction at funerals in honor of the dead; a custom which, we learn from Homer, was in his time ancient. But all the violence of the early ages was not able to repress that elegance of imagination which seems congenial to Greece. Very anciently a contention for a prize in poetry and music was a favorite entertainment of the Grecian people; and when connected, as it often was, with some ceremony of religion, drew together large assemblies of both sexes*. A festival of this kind in the little island of Delos, at which Homer assisted, appears to have occasioned a numerous concourse from different parts by sea; and Hesiod informs us of a splendid meeting for the celebration of various games at Chalcis in Eubœa, where himself obtained the prize for poetry and song. The contest in music and poetry seems early to have been particularly connected with the worship of Apollo. When this was carried from the islands of the Ægean to Delphi, a prize for poetry was instituted; whence arose the Pythian games. But it appears from Homer that games, in which athletic exercises and music and dancing were alternately introduced, made a common amusement of the courts of princes; and before his time the manner of conducting them was so far reduced to a system, that public judges of the games are mentioned as a kind of established magistrate. The games, thus improved, greatly resembled the tilts and tournaments of the ages of

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 630.
Odys. l. xxiv.
v. 87.

Hymn. ad
Apoll. apud
Thucyd. l. iii.
c. 104.
Hesiod. Op.
& Di. l. ii.
v. 272.

Odys. l. viii.

Odys. l. viii.
v. 258.

* ———— Ἐρχομένης ἰσότητος ἡγεμόνους
ἑαυτοῖς σὺν παιδίσκῃ καὶ αὐτῆς ἀλόχευσαν.

Οἱ δὲ σε πυγμαγίῃ τε καὶ ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
Μνησάμενοι, τέτταρσιν ὕπαιρ γησώμενοι ἀγῶνα.
Hymn. ad Apoll. ap. Thucyd. l. iii. c. 104.

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chivalry. Men of high rank only presumed to ingage in them; but a large concourse of all orders attended as spectators: and to keep regularity among these was perhaps the most necessary office of the judges. But the most solemn meetings, and which drew together persons of distinguished rank and character, often from distant parts, were at the funerals of eminent men. The paramount sovereigns of Peloponnesus themselves did not disdain to attend these*; which were celebrated with every circumstance of magnificence and splendor that the age could afford. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may indeed be considered as an example of what the poet could imagine most complete. The games, in which prizes were there contended for, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit and the javelin, shooting with the bow, and fencing with the spear. And in times when none could be rich or powerful but the strong and active, expert at martial exercises, all those trials of skill appear to have been esteemed equally becoming men of the highest rank: tho it may seem, from the prizes offered and the persons contending at the funeral of Patroclus, the poet himself saw in the game of the cæstus some incongruity with exalted characters.

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 634.
Odys. l. viii.
v. 120 & seq.
v. 205 & seq.

West on the
Olympic
Games.

Iliad. l. xi.
v. 697.
Iliad. l. ii.
v. 623.

Iliad. l. xxiii.
v. 629.

Traditions are preserved that Eleia in Peloponnesus had been, upon various great occasions, the scene of athletic games celebrated with more than ordinary pomp by assemblies of chiefs from different parts of Greece. Homer mentions such at Elis under king Augeas, cotemporary with Hercules, and grandfather of one of the chiefs who commanded the Eleian troops in the Trojan war; and again at Buprasium in Eleia, for the funeral of Amarynceus, while Nestor was yet in the vigor of youth. But it does not at all appear from Homer that in his time, or ever before him, any periodical festival was established like that which afterward became so famous under the title of the Olympiad or the Olympian contest, or, as our

* Agamemnon speaks of having frequently attended such meetings:

Ἦδὲ μὲν παλαιὸν τάδε ἀνδρῶν ἀνέλειπον

Ἠλέων, ὅτε κίεν αὐτὸ ἀντιθέμενοι βασιλεῖς,
Ζεῦ πάτερ τι νόσφι καὶ ἐπαιόμεναι δέσπον.

Odys. l. xiv. v. 87.

writers, translating the Latin phrase, have commonly termed it, the Olympic games. On the contrary, every mention of such games in his extant works shows them to have been only occasional solemnities; and Strabo has remarked that they were distinguished by a characteristic difference from the Olympian. In these the honor derived from receiving publicly a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of oleaster, was the only reward of the victor: but in Homer's games the prizes were not so properly honorary as intrinsically valuable; and the value was often very considerable. After Homer's age, apparently in consequence of the long troubles ensuing from the Dorian conquest, extensive migrations and unceasing hostilities, even the memory of the ancient games was nearly lost. In this season of turbulence and returning barbarism, Iphitus, a descendant, probably grandson of Oxylyus (tho so totally the means of transmitting information to posterity were wanting that we have no assurance even of his father's name) succeeded to the throne of Elis. This prince was of a genius that might have produced a more brilliant character in a more enlightened age, but which was perhaps more beneficial to mankind in the rough times in which he lived. Active and enterprising, but not by inclination a warrior, he was anxious to find a remedy for the disorderly situation of his country, and to restore that more improved state of things which, by the accounts of ancient people, once had being there, but now was only to be found beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus. Among all the violences of domestic feuds and foreign wars, superstition still maintained its dominion undiminished over the minds of the Peloponnesian Dorians: the oracle of Delphi was held in no less reverence by them than by their forefathers among the crags of Parnassus. To that oracle therefore Iphitus looked for support in the project which he meditated. He sent a solemn embassy to Delphi to supplicate information from the deity of the place, 'How the anger of the gods, which threatened total destruction to Peloponnesus through endless hostilities among its people, might be averted?' He received for an-

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Strabo, l. viii.
p. 355.

Pausan. l. v.
c. 4.
Newton's
Chronol.
Pausan. ibid.

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swer, what himself, as a judicious critic has observed, had probably suggested, 'That the Olympic festival must be restored; for the neglect of that solemnity had brought on the Greeks the indignation of the god Jupiter, to whom it was dedicated, and of the hero Hercules, by whom it had been instituted: and that a cessation of arms must therefore immediately be proclaimed for all cities desirous of partaking in it.' This response of the god was of course promulgated throughout Greece; and Iphitus, in obedience to it, caused the armistice to be proclaimed. But the other Peloponnesians, full of respect for the authority of the oracle, yet uneasy at the ascendant thus assumed by the Eleians, sent a common deputation to Delphi to inquire concerning the authenticity of the divine mandate reported to them. The Pythoness however, seldom averse to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer; and commanded the Peloponnesians 'to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleians in ordering and establishing the ancient laws and customs of their forefathers.'

Supported thus by the oracle, and encouraged by the ready submission of all the Peloponnesians to it, Iphitus proceeded to model his institution. Jupiter, the chief of the gods, being now the acknowledged patron of the plan, and the prince himself, under Apollo, the promulgator of his will, it was ordained that a festival should be held at the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, near the town of Pisa in Eleia, free for all Greeks to partake in, and that it should be repeated at the termination of every fourth year: that this festival should consist in solemn sacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games celebrated in honor of them: and as wars might often prevent not only individuals but whole states from partaking in the benefits with which the gods would reward those who properly shared in the solemnity, it was ordained, under the same authority, that an armistice should take place throughout Greece for some time before the commencement of the festival, and continue for some time after its conclusion. For his own people, the Eleians, Iphitus procured

an advantage never perhaps enjoyed, at least in equal extent, by any other people upon earth. A tradition was current that the Heraclids, on appointing Oxylus at the same time to the throne of Elis and to the guardianship of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, had, under the sanction of an oath, consecrated all Eleia to the god, and denounced the severest curses, not only on all who should invade it, but also on all who should not defend it against invaders. Iphitus procured universal acquiescence to the authority of this tradition; and the deference paid by the Grecian people, while independency had a being among them, both to the general truce, and to the perpetual immunity of the Eleian territory, is not among the least remarkable circumstances of Grecian history. A reputation of sacredness became attached to the whole Eleian people as the hereditary priesthood of Jupiter; and a pointed difference in character and pursuits arose between them and the other Greeks. Little disposed to ambition, and regardless even of the pleasures of a town-life, their general turn was wholly to rural business and rural amusements. Elsewhere the country was left to peasants: men of property, for security, as well as for pursuits of ambition and pleasure, resided in fortified towns. But the towns of Eleia, Elis itself the capital, remained always unfortified: and to the time of Polybius, who saw the liberty of Greece expire, tho' the Eleians were the wealthiest people of Peloponnesus, yet the richest of them mostly resided upon their estates, and many without ever visiting Elis.

According to the accounts collected by Pausanias, so totally the customs and institutions of Peloponnesus were altered and overthrown, through the violent and long continued troubles which followed the return of the Heraclids, that the very memory of those games, so familiar in Homer's age, was nearly lost. When Iphitus instituted the Olympian festival, the foot-race, which was distinguished by the name of Stadion, was the only game exhibited. Afterward, as the increasing importance of the meeting occasioned inquiry concerning what had been practised of old, or excited invention concerning what might be advantageously added new, the

CHAP. IV.
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Strabo, l. viii.
p. 357, 358.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 358.
Polyb. Hist.
l. iv. p. 336,
337.

Pausan. l. v.
c. 8.

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the games were multiplied. The Diaulos, a more complicated foot-race, was added at the fourteenth Olympiad; wrestling and the pentathlon, or game of five exercises, at the eighteenth; boxing at the twenty-third; the chariot-race was not restored till the twenty-fifth; of course not till a hundred years after the institution of the festival: the pancration and the horse-race were added in the thirty-third. Originally the sacrifices, processions, and various religious ceremonies must have formed the principal pageantry of the meeting. Afterward perhaps, the games became the greater inducement to the prodigious resort of company to Olympia; tho the religious ceremonies still continued to increase in magnificence as the festival gained importance. A mart or fair was a natural consequence of a periodical assembly of multitudes in one place. Thus in the end the Olympian meeting in some degree supplied the want of a common capital for the Greek nation; and, with a success far beyond what the worthy founder's imagination urged by his warmest wishes could reach, contributed to the advancement of arts, particularly of the fine arts, of commerce, of science, of civilized manners, of liberal sentiments, and of friendly communication among all the Grecian people.

APPENDIX TO THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History.

NO circumstance of Grecian history has been more labored by learned men, and yet none remains more uncertain and unsatisfactory than its Chronology. I would most willingly have avoided all discussion of a subject which has already filled so many volumes, and to only touch upon which must considerably interrupt the tenor of a narration in its nature too much otherwise subject to interruption. The very names indeed of Scaliger, Selden, Lydiatt, Marham, Prideaux, Petavius, Calvisius, Pezron, Usher, Newton, Jackson, and lastly the indefatigable Freret, might more than suffice to deter from the

the attempt to throw new light on a matter which they have successively handled, and on which they have so little agreed. But as history cannot hold together without some system of chronology, and as the result of my researches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indispensable duty of the office I have undertaken to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it. This indeed might have been done, without interruption of the history, by a preliminary dissertation: but to be intelligible I must then have been more prolix, and much repetition would have been unavoidable. Now the preceding history itself will go far to illustrate its chronology; and farther than it does so, my aim will be less to decide, than to afford the reader, who has not particularly turned his studies to this point, the best means I can, within a short compass, to judge for himself.

When a nation is first emerging from barbarism, all views are directed to the future: transactions past are of so little consequence that a point from which accounts of time may originate is not an obvious want, and the deficiency is beyond remedy before it is felt. It was probably not long before Homer that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy; for the poet is unable to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes, except the royal family of Troy, beyond the fourth generation upward. Yet the genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been everywhere the first assistants toward ascertaining the dates of past events: feeble at best, and in the early ages of Greece the more so through the general ignorance of writing, together with the continual troubles of the country, which made it difficult by any means to preserve certain accounts of pedigrees through any number of generations. When arts and learning were first springing in Peloponnesus under the benign influence of a more settled polity, the return of the Heracleids violently stopped their progress, checked and dissipated ancient tradition, and through expulsions, migrations, and various political troubles to a great extent and of long continuance, prevented the means of communicating even recent transactions with
any

APPENDIX
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Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. vii.
c. 56.

Joseph. cont.
Apion.
Strabo, l. vi.
p. 259.

Dionys. Hal.
Antiq. Rom.
l. i.

any accuracy to posterity. When again the darkness superinduced by this revolution began to clear, we find hereditary monarchy superseded in most of the Grecian states by republican government and annual magistracy. This circumstance very much weakened the old means of ascertaining dates, because among genealogies none could be so obvious to general knowledge as those of princes; yet on the other hand, had the republican forms become at once regular and permanent, new means would have been opened, capable of far greater accuracy: for it might then have been possible to ascertain the year by the name of the magistrates of the time in different principal cities. In the unsettled state of governments however, and the deficiency of writing, registers of magistracy were little regularly kept: the year was differently divided in the different states of Greece, and inaccurately calculated in all of them; and no era had been fixed from which to reckon years. Little indeed was chronology likely to acquire consistency, while compositions in prose for public use were unknown. The oldest Grecian prose-writers known to the ancients themselves, were Cadmus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syros, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia; nearly therefore about the time when laws were first put in writing among the Greeks, by Draco at Athens, and by Zaleucus for the Epizephyrian Locrians, and not till some centuries after the Heracleid revolution. In the next generation Hecataeus of Miletus composed a historical work in prose, which had some reputation with posterity; and about the same time Pherecydes an Athenian wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of his own country. The name of Acusilaus of Argos has been transmitted to us as an earlier author: but the work of Pherecydes was the first composed in prose on the continent of Greece itself which retained any considerable credit. It was long extant, and was generally esteemed the most valuable upon its subject; yet how little satisfactory it was, whoever has but looked into what remains to us from Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias, may sufficiently judge. Herodotus, who lived about half a century after the Athe-

nian

nian Pherecydes, is the oldest Greek prose author preferred to us. He so improved upon the former manner of prose narration, that he acquired the titles of father and prince of history. But we gain little light from him concerning the chronology of ancient times farther than by some genealogies, and even those are not undisputed. The preface of the judicious Thucydides, a few years only later than Herodotus, affords the clearest and most authentic information remaining, for the connection of Grecian history from the Homeric age to the times immediately preceding the Persian invasion, and at the same time shows strongly the deficiency of authorities even for the history itself, and far more for its chronology. Still in Thucydides's time no era had been determined from which to reckon dates: the common method was to compute backward either from the time present or from some well known period not distant, and that often not without great latitude. Thus Herodotus describes the time of events by saying they happened so many hundred years before his time; which is scarcely fixing them within half a century. The more accurate Thucydides commonly reckons backward from the year in which the Peloponnesian war was concluded. A little after Thucydides, in the time of Socrates, Hippias, an Eleian, published a catalogue of the victors in the Olympic games. This seems to have been soon taken up as a commodious scale for ascertaining dates; for Xenophon, in his Grecian annals, quotes one Olympiad for that purpose. But we are informed by Plutarch, that the catalogue of Hippias had little reputation for accuracy*; and we find it still long before the Olympiads came into general use for the purpose of dating. Ephorus the disciple of Isocrates, in his chronological history of Greece from the return of the Heracleids to the twentieth year of the reign of Philip of Macedon, digested his calculation of dates by generations only; and even the famous Arundel marbles, composed sixty years after the death of Alexander, make no mention of Olympiads, but

* Ταῖς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἔστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τῶν Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἀναγεμῖνους ὧν τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ὁπὲρ φασὶν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι Ἑλλῆσι, ἀπ' οὗτοινος ἀρμῶμεν ἀναρχαίου πρὸς πῆξιν. Plut. v. Numæ.

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CHAP. IV.Blair's Pre-
face.Dionys. Hal.
Antiq. Rom.

reckon backward by years from the time present. The first systematic use of the Olympian catalogue for the purpose of chronology was by Timæus Siculus, in his general history published soon after the date of the Arundel marbles. That historian endeavoured to correct chronology by comparing the succession of kings and ephors at Sparta, of archons at Athens, and of priestesses of Juno at Argos, with the list of Olympian victors. His work is unfortunately lost. About forty years later, Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Soter, digested a chronological system by the Olympiads, so much more complete than any before known, that he has had the reputation of being the father of scientific chronology. But both his work and that of Apollodorus the Athenian, who followed him, are also lost. What therefore were his grounds of calculation for the early ages, and what those canons which Dionysius the Halicarnassian approved, we cannot know. But we know that those canons had not universal approbation. Plutarch speaks of them most disrespectfully even where they relate to times bordering upon certain chronology*. Strabo, perhaps the most able of the ancient antiquarians, has followed Homer, with evident satisfaction, tracing him both as geographer and historian step by step, and verifying his accounts by his own observation and reading; but he hesitates where Homer leaves him, and gives abundant proof that he had no faith in that chronology which undertook to arrange history, either before or after the times of which Homer treats, till the Persian invasion†. Pausanias reports contradictions in regard both to the arrangement of time, and the arrangement of pedigrees in ancient Grecian history, and freely

* Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κρόνον ἱσταμένην αὐτῶν (τῶν Ἑλλήνων) διακρίσει ἱστορίαι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπληρωμένην ἰδέσκειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγῳ ὑποβόω οὕτω, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μάρτυρας ἔχοντα — ὅτι μοι δοκῶ προσέσθαι χρόνους τοῖς γεγονόσι κατόπιν, δις μάλιστα διεξιέναις ἀρχῇ σημεῖον, ἵνα οἷον αὐτοῖς δημογόνυμον εὐαντοῖα κατατίθαι τὰς ἀντινομίας. Plutarch. v. Solon.

† See particularly his remarks upon the variety of traditions concerning the origin of the Olympic games. Doubt seems scarcely to have

ceased with him concerning the history of that festival itself, even where the regular computation by Olympiads begins: Ἐξάκι γὰρ διὰ τα παλαιὰ. — τὰ γὰρ πάντα πολλὰ καὶ ἀσέβηται καὶ ὅτι πάνι σφίονται. — Ἐγγεῖται δὲ τῆς πίστεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἢ Κρόνος ἴδινα γὰρ ἱστοῖται, τὴν ποταμοῦ ἔχειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγῶνος Ἱλίου. Strabo, l. viii. c. 355.

confesses

confesses his inability to reconcile them *. But Plutarch's testimony against the chronologers is most explicit: 'Thousands,' he says, 'continue to this day endeavouring to correct the chronological canons, and can yet bring them to no consistency.' It seems as if doubts had decreased in modern times in proportion, not to the acquisition of means for discovering truth, but to the loss of means for detecting falsehood †.

The chronology most received in modern times has been formed chiefly from those famous marbles brought from the Levant for the earl of Arundel, and now in the possession of the university of Oxford, together with some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrasyllus, preserved chiefly in the chronicon of Eusebius, and the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus. Those marbles, whose fame has so much exceeded their worth, have been proved in some instances false; and what can we think of the authority of the chronologers, when such authors as Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, coming after them, never deign even to quote them, but endeavouring to investigate the same subjects, declare that they were unable to satisfy themselves, and report the uncertainties that occurred? The chronology built on such frail foundations is also in itself improbable, and even inconsistent with the most authentic historical accounts. All these considerations together urged the great Newton to attempt the framing of a system of chronology for the early ages of Greece from the best historical traditions of politi-

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Plut. v. Solon. See note * p. 153, and also note † p. 154.

* 'Οι μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνας λόγοι διάζουσι τα πλείους, καὶ ἀνὰ ἅπαντα ἰπὸ τῆς γένεσιν ἔστι. Pausan. l. viii. c. 53.

† This appears very remarkably in some observations of the very learned Freret on the Arundel marbles: 'Quand à l'autorité que doit avoir la Chronique de Paros, je crois qu'elle peut être assez grande pour l'histoire des temps héroïques; cette Chronique étant la seule qui nous soit restée un peu entière de toutes celles que les anciens avoient publiées.—Mais il s'en faut beaucoup que la Chronique ait le même degré d'au-

torité pour l'histoire générale & politique de la Grèce.—De quelque part que soient venues les méprises il est sur qu'il y en a plusieurs dans la Chronique de Paros, &c.' Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. xxvi. What is this but saying, 'You may trust the marbles for what their author could not know, tho they are certainly false in what he might easily have learnt, and ought to have reported with accurate fidelity.' One of the instances of mistake mentioned by Freret, relates to so remarkable an event of so late a date as the battle of Leuctra.

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cal events, compared with the most authentic genealogies; and he endeavoured to verify it from accounts of astronomical observations. He never finished this work for publication, or it would probably have come to us less open to objection. Being printed after his death, it had for some time, however, great credit. But of late the favor of learned men has inclined much to the former system, which in our own country Dr. Blair, in his expensive and valuable Tables, has implicitly followed; and in France the wonderful diligence of the very learned Freret has been employed in the endeavour to prove that the real chronology of early Greece was still more at variance with all remaining history than even that which Dr. Blair has adopted. To explain therefore what I have to urge in apology for my preference of Sir Isaac Newton's system, it may be necessary to lay before the reader a synopsis of the more received chronology, which I shall give from Dr. Blair's Tables.

The Deluge, according to Archbishop Usher, whom Dr. Blair has followed, was 2348 years before the Christian era. The kingdom of Sicyon is said to have been founded only 259 years later. The list of kings of Sicyon is carried up to that period; but the next historical event in Greece is the founding of Argos by Inachus, 233 years after the founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus. I shall not enlarge upon the absurdity of the pretence to establish the date of such an insulated fact, and of tracing a succession of kings so far beyond all connected accounts of transactions in the country; because it has been a supposition not less received that Phoroneus and Ægialeus, sons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the same time. We have indeed Plato's testimony, that earlier than the age of Phoroneus nothing was known of Greece. After the founding of Argos the Flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance: it is supposed to have happened 60 years later. Whether any person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece appears, however, very uncertain. The term Ogygian, used in after-ages to express extreme antiquity, time beyond certain knowledge, seems, from the use which Homer

Plato. *Ti-*
mæus, p. 22.
t. iii. ed. Ser-
ran.

See p. 31 of
this vol.

Homer makes of it, to have been not originally Grecian, and, if we may trust Æschylus, it was Ægyptian*. After Ogyges a void follows which chronology would ascertain to be of just 208 years. Then Cecrops founded Athens. Dates thus wide of all connection with history are not for the historian to comment upon. With Cecrops, however, we find ourselves approaching to a train of historical events, so far connected that the memory of man might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Deucalion is said to have been cotemporary with Cecrops. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was cotemporary with Amphictyon. Danaus came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus. The connection is then less satisfactorily supported during near a century and half to Acrisius: it holds afterward better through 80 years to the Argonautic expedition. And here at length a crowd of remarkable personages and many important events break upon us in probable succession: Pelops, Ægeus, Cæneus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Eurystheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these personages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thebæ, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Minos with Athens, the establishment of the Cretan maritime power with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy. History regularly connects these events, and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year before Christ 1263, places the expedition against Troy less than 70 years later. Chronology then continues to go

* It seems not likely that Homer would have called the distant and fabulous island of Calypso Ogygia from the name of a Grecian prince. Æschylus calls the capital of Upper Egypt Ogygian Thebes. Æschyl. Pers. v. 39.

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Plato. Hipparch.

hand in hand with history as far as the return of the Heracleids : but here many ages of darkness ensue. The next events in Peloponnesus of any importance, and which bring forward any considerable characters to the notice of history, are the institution of the Olympic games by Iphitus, and the legislation of Lacedæmon by Lycurgus ; and chronologers assert that this interval, in which neither man acquired fame, nor event had any consequence, was of no less than 220 years : Freret makes it 283. Then follows another void of 108 years to another Iphitus, under whose presidency at the Olympic festival Coroebus was victor in what ever after bore the title of the first Olympiad. From this era chronology begins again to approach toward a connection with history ; but for near 200 years it still remains very uncertain. The most important events of the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even the legislation of Solon at Athens, are of uncertain date ; tho the former is on probable grounds placed above a century and half after the first Olympiad. Toward the sixty-fourth Olympiad, above 250 years after the victory of Coroebus, books were still so little common, and the means of multiplying them so little known, that Hipparchus, to promote the knowledge of letters among the Athenian people, caused moral sentences in verse engraved on marble to be set up in the public ways of Attica for a kind of public library. Herodotus, the earliest Grecian prose-writer whose works remain to us, flourished about 70 years after. The Olympic catalogue was first published by Hippias the Eleian not till toward the hundredth Olympiad. The first history digested by Olympiads, that of Timæus, was above a hundred years later ; and Eratosthenes, called the father of ancient chronology, did not flourish till about the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad.

After this synopsis of that chronology which has had countenance from so many respectable names of modern and so few of ancient times, it may be advantageous to take a short view of the means remaining, together with the means which the ancient authors themselves

selves possessed, as far as we can know them, for tracing events through the early ages of Greece: because, as the authority of the history itself depends upon those means, from them also its chronology will derive its best, and indeed only solid support. The principal works of Hesiod and Homer, two of the oldest, and the most valuable among the oldest authors known to the ancients, have been fortunately transmitted to us. In what age those authors lived is undecided; but that it was some centuries before prose-compositions for public use were known in Greece was never doubted. In their age accounts of great events were preserved chiefly by memory, assisted with verse. In the uncontroverted work of Hesiod, his poem intitled *Of Works and Days*, there remains to us a summary of things from the creation to his own time. He begins with what he terms the golden age, which seems a tradition derived from the East concerning the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall. He proceeds to the silver age, which, on comparing it with the account of Moses, appears not less evidently a relic of tradition concerning the antediluvian world. The brazen age follows, in which he describes precisely that savage state of the western nations of which Plutarch gives an account more in detail in his life of Theseus. In speaking of the succeeding generation, whom he calls the race of heroes, the poet confines his description more pointedly to his own country: he mentions the wars of Thebes and Troy by name. The next race of men to these, he says, was that with which he himself lived, and this he calls the iron race. The golden race, he tells us, were exalted after death to a superior state of being; the silver race were hid in his anger by the immediate hand of the deity; but no such intervention of supernatural power is mentioned in the account of the brazen, the heroic, and the iron race: it is merely said that such races succeeded one another; and the latest historical event noticed is the Trojan war. If any surmise concerning the poet's own age can be fairly founded upon this historical deduction, it must be that he was born in the time of the sons, and lived probably with the

See p. 67 of
this Vol.

APPENDIX the grandsons and great-grandsons of those who fought at Troy*.
 TO
 CHAP. IV. Such then is the chronology of Hesiod.

The chronology of Homer does not go so high, but it is continued lower. Homer reckons time upward no farther than he can trace the genealogies of his heroes; which all end in a god, a river, or some unaccountable personage in the second, third, or at most the fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war. The royal race of Troy forms the only exception: Jupiter was ancestor in the seventh degree to Hector. Negative proof surely cannot be stronger against that antiquity to which some of the Grecian towns in late ages pretended. Homer's Grecian chronology begins thus scarcely before the age of Pelops, a generation or two earlier than the Theban war; and it ends with the restoration of Orestes, great-grandson, or, according to some, great-great-grandson of Pelops†, to the throne of Argos. Within these limits Grecian history is regular and probable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endeavoured to illustrate it, sufficiently tallies with the course of events. But this luminous period stands most oddly insulated. That it should have been preceded by times without history is not wonderful; but that it should have been followed by so many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable. It would be of some importance both to the history and to the chronology of early Greece, if it were possible, to ascertain the great poet's own age. Tho' therefore the variety of opinions upon this subject makes any discussion of it hazardous, it yet appears a part of the duty of the office I have undertaken, not to avoid the declaration of my own; and in hope of elucidating, in some degree, and confirming the account which I have ventured to give of that dark period which begins where Homer's history ends, I will here bring under one point

* This is Sir Isaac Newton's supposition: tho' he has understood the golden and the silver ages or races to relate particularly to Greece, as well as the brazen, the heroic, and the

iron; an opinion which I must confess appears to me wholly unwarranted.

† See note * p. 26 of this Volume.

of view some circumstances of proof upon which my opinion principally rests.

None of the earlier Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the era of the Trojan war; but Herodotus affirms that Homer lived four hundred years before his own age*. He does not inform us how that period was calculated; but many things remaining from other early authors, and among them the dates reported by Thucydides, tend to make the assertion probable, and it has indeed been generally admitted. For the time then from the Trojan war to the poet's age, there is evidence within his remaining works which seems to mark it strongly. Four passages appear to speak to it in some degree affirmatively: three of them indeed but loosely, and rather by implication than directly; but the fourth in pointed terms. In the *Odyssée* a conversation is introduced concerning subjects for poetry, where it is remarked, that 'those subjects are preferred for celebration in which, through the recency of the transactions, the hearers have a nearer interest.' Now this would stand contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates happened, as some have imagined, five, four, three, two, or even one century before the people for whom he composed were born. In the *Odyssée* again, we find another remarkable passage concerning subjects for poetry: 'The gods,' it is said, 'wrought the fate of Troy, and decreed the destruction of men, that there might be subjects for poetry to future generations.' Had the poet lived after the return of the *Heracleids*, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting to hearers, in any part of either Greece itself or the Grecian settlements in Asia Minor, than the war of Troy. These two passages, therefore, seem strongly to indicate that he lived not long after the times of which his poems principally treat. The third passage

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Herodot. l. ii.
c. 53.

Odyss. l. i.
v. 251.

Odyss. l. viii.
v. 578.

* In quoting the authority of Herodotus, I refer to that only of his general history. I am not inclined to give any credit to the life of Homer attributed to him. The arguments against its authenticity appear to me much stronger than those in its favor; and not least the internal evidence of the work itself. See note 1st of Weßeling's edition.

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Iliad. l. ii.
v. 486.

Iliad. l. xx.
v. 358.

may perhaps prove that he did not live absolutely in those times. Speaking in his own person of the Trojan war, he says, ‘I have these things only by report, and not of my own knowledge.’ It has been often observed that Homer shows himself, upon all occasions, remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and singularly careful to avoid what might give them offence; whence it has been inferred that the posterity of that chief existed and were powerful in the poet’s age; nor indeed can the circumstance be otherwise accounted for. One passage, however, appears to speak pointedly to the purpose: the god Neptune is introduced declaring prophetically that ‘Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons, and those who shall be born after them.’ In its most natural interpretation this passage seems to mark precisely the number of generations from Æneas to his descendants cotemporary with the poet; and with any other interpretation the sense is dubious and incomplete, in a manner not usual with Homer.

These then are, I believe, the only passages within Homer’s extant works that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived. They are not conclusive, and yet, united, they are strong. But the negative evidence, which his works afford in confirmation of them, is such that, but for the respect due to those who have thought differently, and still more perhaps to those who have doubted, I should scarcely hesitate to call the whole together decisive. For had the return of the Heracleids preceded the times in which Homer flourished, is it conceivable that, among subjects which so naturally led to the mention of it, he should never once have alluded to so great an event, by which so total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and of all the western coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent islands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact, that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step for the purpose of tracing from remotest antiquity a complete account of that peninsula. That in so particular a description of the country before the Dorian conquest

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he should have been so exact that no subsequent inquiry could convict him of any error *, and yet that he should take not the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country which that revolution produced, if he had lived to see them, is not easily imaginable. How naturally, upon many occasions, would some such pathetic observation have occurred concerning the Pelopid, the Neleid, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad he makes upon the catastrophe of the royal family of Ætolia! † How naturally too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in Greece and in Asia, would some compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Peloponnesus instead of exiles on the mountains of Doris; and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquisitions of the posterity of Agamemnon and Nestor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionic migrations! Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelopid and Heracleid families, would he have neglected all, and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Æneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of a general name for the Greek nation, and of its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian: we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without images: we must add the little fame of oracles, and his silence concerning the council of Amphictyons: we must add his

* Τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα καὶ τοὺς σύγγενους τόπους καὶ λαοὺς περιέρχων ἐξιστορεῖται, πολυτρήματα μὲν τῇ Θέῳ λέγοντα, Ἀλκίονος δὲ ποιήματα, ἐγκαταλείπειν δὲ Ἀθηναίαν, Αἰδαίαν δὲ πηγὴν ἐπὶ Κηφιστῶν· καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποσβένναι κενὰ· ἀποῤῥητῶν. Strabo, l. i. p. 16.

Λέγει δὲ πάντα συμβάλλων τά τε καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ὧν ἄλλοις ἐργάζονται· αἰσάμεν γὰρ ἀνιζητάζεσθαι πάντα ἰσχυροῖ· διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δοξάν, καὶ συνήθειαν

πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τότε νομιζόντος ἑαυτοῦ καταρδύσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν ἑλπίδα ἀντιπρὶν τοῖς ὅτοι σφάρα περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν λέγοντας. Διὶ δὲ τὰ τε ὅλα λέγειν, καὶ τὰ ποιητῶν, παρατηρήσας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσκοπεῖν. Strabo, l. viii. p. 337.

† Ὅν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἀντιπρὶν τοῖς ὅτοι σφάρα περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν λέγοντας. Διὶ δὲ τὰ τε ὅλα λέγειν, καὶ τὰ ποιητῶν, παρατηρήσας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσκοπεῖν. Strabo, l. viii. p. 337.

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familiar knowledge of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre: and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the Æolian colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that Homer lived before the return of the Heracleids*. All together afford also strong

* In a late anonymous publication, intitled Critical Observations on Books ancient and modern, in which much learning is displayed, Mr. Wood's opinion concerning the age of Homer has been violently controverted, and the author has endeavoured to prove that the great poet lived still later than has been generally supposed. I have considered his arguments with attention, but cannot see any force in any of them. He asserts (1) that 'there are such internal testimonies in Homer's poems of refinement as stand in direct contradiction to the roughness of his manners, and prove that either the one or the other could not be the real state of his own times.' But Mr. Wood, who had conversed extensively in the East, knew that what thus appear contradictions to a learned Englishman thinking in his closet, are not incompatible there. 'Pope,' the learned critic continues, 'has justly observed that Homer's invocation "Ἥμῃς δὲ νόστος ἵεν ἀνδράων, δὲ δὲ τὴν ἴδμεν," (2) 'shows that he lived long after the siege of Troy.' Thucydides, incomparably a greater authority than Pope, has said nearly the same thing: but the question still remains, What is long? Perhaps the δὲ δὲ τὴν ἴδμεν might be not unreasonably taken to imply that the poet's birth was so near the time of the Trojan war that, in his old age, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been supposed that he pretended to know the events he describes from having been a party concerned; for it is little usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The proofs endeavoured to be drawn from Paterculus and Aristotle, and from the mention of the Gygean lake, have not more precision. That from the word βασιλεύς

(3), is at variance with what follows about the names Miletus and Mycale (4). The learned critic has very much overhastily quoted Strabo for authority that 'Miletus' was at first built by Codrus, a hundred years after the taking of Troy (5). Strabo indeed says, that Neleus, who, according to other authors, was son of Codrus, founded Miletus, Μῆδος ἱκάνει (6): but it appears from two other passages of the same author that an older town of the same name, and near the same spot, had its origin from a colony of Cretans under Sarpedon, brother of Minos (7), and must have been therefore half a century older than the Trojan war. Pausanias (8) bears corresponding testimony to its antiquity. 'Again,' says the author of the Critical Observations, 'the mention made in the Odyssey of various articles of luxury and elegance betrays a later age than is usually assigned to the poet, and shows that he must have lived in more civilized times than can be consistent with the rough and simple manners which he feigns.' I think not. Arts flourished in Egypt and Phenicia before Homer's age; but nothing in his works implies that Greece was in his time considerably advanced either in arts or in civilization beyond the times of his principal heroes. Two circumstances only mark some little advancement; and but little. The trumpet, as appears from a simile, was known to him, tho' never mentioned as in use in the times which he describes. From two similes it should seem also that horsemanship was improved. I believe another instance cannot be produced. But the learned critic continues, 'That most curious machine the formation of the Greek tongue in its several

(1) p. 62. (2) Il. l. ii. v. 487.

(3) p. 42.

(4) p. 67.

(5) p. 67.

(6) Strabo, l. xiv. p. 633.

(7) Strabo, l. xiv. p. 572 & 624.

(8) l. vii. c. 2.

proof that the editors of the Rhapsodies found them genuine, and gave them so to the world.

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After Homer is a long interval to our next authorities for Grecian history. Pindar and Æschylus afford assistance; but they lived too late to unite in any great degree the character of historian with that of poet *. The later poets are of course still inferior historical authority. Herodotus, therefore, the oldest Grecian prose author whose works remain to us, and who, according to his own probable assertion, as we have already observed, was four hundred years later than the great poet, may be called the next historian. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, who in different ages investigated the antiquities of their country, all sufficiently inform us what uncertain authorities intervened. Early in this dark period, however, we gain, by a strong concurrence of testimony, one remarkable point, the Olympiad in which Coræbus won in the stadion, from which the Olympiads were reckoned numerically, and which was therefore always called the first Olympiad. But unfortunately we are not with any certainty informed what principal characters were cotemporary, or even nearly cotemporary, with Coræbus. Not only therefore the preceding times till we meet Homer's

'tenses, cases, and numbers, was all perfect and complete when Homer wrote.—It was impossible for his language to have arrived at that summit of excellence to which little improvement or addition was made afterward, unless the speakers were also arrived near the summit of social life and civil government.' The learned critic seems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglo-Saxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language; and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in the older authors. But the general form and character of every language become fixed in barbarous ages beyond the power

of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were indeed wonderfully happy; but had they not been so delivered down from times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have added a number, a tense, or a case.

* Tho not more than three or four publications in Grecian prose of earlier date than the works of Pindar and Æschylus acquired any reputation, yet already in their time the *Ægæus*, prose-writer, appears to have been familiarly known as a person capable of transmitting facts to posterity as well as the *Ægæus*, poet:

——— Ὅτι μὲν ἔστιν ἄρχησι δόξα;
Ὅτιν ἀπορχομένη ἀνδρῶν διατάν πέντε
καὶ Ἀργίου καὶ Ἀχαιῶν.

Pindar. Pyth. i.

chro-

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chronology, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the return of the Heracleids, remain to be gathered from genealogies, but, for the most part, the subsequent also till near the time of the Persian invasion. In the computation by genealogies, exclusively of its inherent inaccuracy, great difficulties occur. Even the succession of Lacedæmonian kings, which should be our best guide, is not transmitted to us with certain correctness; and when we recollect the variety of opinions of ancient writers, or those reported by Plutarch alone, concerning the age of so very remarkable a personage as the lawgiver Lycurgus, the pretensions of chronologers to assign to each reign its exact number of years appear utterly absurd. The terms attributed to the perpetual archons of Athens are not better founded; and the reasons given by Sir Isaac Newton for supposing that the seven decennial archons did not complete seventy years, are cogent. Of the annual archons who followed, accounts are very deficient. Probably at their first establishment written registers were not kept: for as we are well assured that the laws of Athens were never committed to writing till the archonship of Draco, it is not likely that letters were applied much sooner to public purposes of inferior importance. Letters became common, and chronology acquired accuracy, about the same time, and little before the Persian invasion.

The first Olympiad, however, that in which Coræbus won, is of universally acknowledged date 776 years before the Christian era. To this point Sir Isaac Newton and all former and all subsequent chronologers agree*. The return of the Heracleids happened 80 years after the Trojan war. This assertion of the inquisitive and judicious Thucydides has also found universal acquiescence. The two great desiderata then of Grecian chronology are to know what prin-

* I do not understand the accusation of an ingenious, but vehement opposer of Sir Isaac Newton's chronology, that Newton asserts a wilful forgery to have been made in the Olympic catalogue of forty Olympiads which had no

real existence (1). On the contrary Newton admits all the Olympiads of the catalogue, from Coræbus downward; and before Coræbus, if any Olympiads were celebrated, we are well assured that no catalogue was kept.

(1) Dissertation on the Chronology of the Olympiads, by Dr. S. Mufgrave.

cipal persons were cotemporary with Corœbus, and to trace the generations from his age upward to the return of the Heracleids. If these could be obtained, we should have a tolerably accurate chronology as far as Homer's genealogies will carry us; and beyond them, however curiosity may be incited, the fruit of inquiry will scarcely pay the labor.

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Our principal information concerning the Olympiads is from Pausanias; who lived late, but was a diligent and a candid antiquarian. He travelled through Greece after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and it appears that he examined the Olympic register on the spot. He says that the Olympiads might be traced back regularly to that in which Corœbus won in the foot-race; but that even tradition concerning any regular and periodical celebration of the games went no farther. It is strongly implied by his expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not so old as Corœbus, but that the account of the first Olympiads was kept by memory only*. Indeed it appears certain, from all memorials of best authority, that writing was not common in Greece so early. We are not assured that Corœbus was cotemporary with Iphitus, yet it appears probable. That short history of the Olympic games which Pausanias gives from Corœbus downward, strongly contradicts the supposition of chronologers, derived from a passage of Phlegon preserved by Eusebius but wholly unsupported by older authors, that twenty-eight Olympiads intervened between the establishment of the festival by Iphitus, and the victory of Corœbus under another Iphitus. Strabo's account still more remarkably contradicts such a supposition. He affirms that the Ætolians, who under Oxylus came into Peloponnesus with the Heracleids, were the inventors of the Olympian

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 354, 355.

* Εξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὲς τοῖς χρόνοις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐστὶ (1), is Pausanias' expression concerning the authority of the first Olympiads

of the catalogue, beginning with the victory of Corœbus. With regard to later times, he speaks in plain terms of a written register.

(1) l. v. c. 8.

games,

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Pausan. l. v.
c. 4.

Pausan. l. v.
c. 8.

games, and celebrated the first Olympiads. After then mentioning traditions concerning the prior establishment of the festival as fabulous and unworthy of credit, he speaks of that as the first Olympiad in which Coræbus won. So far from giving the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heracleids and the victory of Coræbus, it is rather implied by his expressions in that passage that Coræbus was cotemporary with Oxylus. This however is not affirmed, and in another place Iphitus is mentioned as founder of the festival; but other authors must be resorted to for authority even for that short interval which Newton has supposed between Oxylus and Coræbus. With Newton, therefore, I have no scruple to strike from my chronology that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Coræbus. Iphitus, according to Pausanias, was descended from Oxylus, but in what degree that antiquarian could not learn; there were even contradictory testimonies among the ancient inscriptions and memorials of the Eleians themselves concerning his father's name. Newton, deducing collateral proof from another passage of Pausanias, supposes him grandson of Oxylus, and places the Olympiad in which Coræbus won under his presidency, only 52 years after the return of the Heracleids. Dr. Blair places Iphitus 220, and Freret supposes him 283 years later than that event; and both maintain the farther interval of 108 years between his institution of the Olympian games and that called the first Olympiad. If we search history to know what occurrences filled this long interval, we find none: nothing in the least to contradict Newton's supposition that only 52 years, instead of 328 according to Blair, or 395 according to Freret, passed between the return of the Heracleids and the Olympiad in which Coræbus won, except an account from Pausanias of what was not done. That antiquarian relates that games, after the manner of the Homeric age; were so long neglected, that even memory of them failed; and that they were recovered but by slow degrees after the time of Coræbus. I know nothing else of equal or almost of any authority

authority to direct opinion between Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and computations so utterly unsupported by history as those adopted by Blair, or made by Freret; computations, as appears to me, virtually contradicted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, and evidently disbelieved by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Not only they are utterly irreconcilable to the history, imperfect enough indeed itself, which remains of those times; but, to strain even genealogy to any kind of accommodation with them, it has been necessary to add a supposition, utterly unsupported by the authors above mentioned, that there were two extraordinary personages kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, two extraordinary personages of the name of Lycurgus legislators of Sparta, and so of many others who, at the distance of from one to two centuries one from the other, bore the same name, did the same things, and acquired the same reputation.

The result then of such inquiry as I have been able to make on this dark and intricate subject, leads me to the following conclusions. I have not the least difficulty with Newton to reject, as fictitious, that personage whom chronologers have inserted in their catalogue of kings of Crete by the name of the first Minos; because his existence is not only unwarranted, but in fact contradicted by what remains to us from Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo, concerning the only Minos whom those authors appear to have known*. With scarcely more doubt and upon similar grounds I join in the rejection of Erichthonius, together with the second Cecrops and the second Pandion, from the list of the kings of Athens. I cannot, however, hold with the great philosopher that Gelanor king of Argos, and Danaus the leader of the Egyptian colony, were

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See note * p.
35. of this
Vol.
Newton's
Chronol.
p. 137.

* Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book (1), effectually contradicts the existence of more than the one celebrated personage of that name, acknowledged by the writers mentioned themselves, reported in his fifth book (2), in the text.

(1) c. 62.

(2) c. 79.

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cotemporary with Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ; because the supposition is not only unsupported but contradicted by testimony equal to any concerning those times; indeed by the whole tenor of early historical tradition. We come next to that period which Homer has illustrated; and concerning this, considered by itself, the difference among authors has been comparatively none. In proceeding then to the dark ages which follow, I have no doubt in shortening the period from the return of the Heracleids to the institution of the Olympian festival by Iphitus. The number of years that passed can be calculated only upon conjectural grounds; but Newton's conjecture, if not perfectly unexceptionable, appears so far the most probable as it is most consistent with historical tradition, and even with what I hold to be the best chronological authorities, those of Strabo and Pausanias. For the period then of 108 years, between the institution of the festival by Iphitus and the first Olympiad, or that in which Coræbus won, I look upon it as merely imaginary; its existence being strongly contradicted by Strabo and Pausanias, and supported by no comparable authority. I am less able to determine my belief concerning the dates of the Messenian wars; nor can I satisfy myself concerning those of Attic or Corinthian history. In the former cases the business was only to detect falsehood; here we have the nicer task to ascertain truth. Upon the whole, however, Newton appears to have strong reason on his side throughout. He seems indeed to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his shortening system has been carried rather to an extreme: but where centuries are in dispute, we must not make difficulties about a few years. It would be of some importance, if it were possible, to determine the age of that remarkable tyrant of Argos, Pheidon, the most powerful Grecian prince of his time, the first who coined silver in Peloponnesus, the first who established a standard for the weights and measures used over the whole peninsula, and who, as head of the Heracleid families, and legal heir of Hercules, claimed, and by the prevalence

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 127.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 353.

valence of his power assumed, the presidency of the Olympian festival. This last circumstance, if the Olympic register was perfect, should have put his age beyond question: yet authors who possessed the best means of information are not to be reconciled concerning it. Pausanias says that Pheidon presided in the eighth Olympiad. But according to Strabo the Eleians presided without interruption to the twenty-sixth; and if the copies of Herodotus are faithful, Pheidon must have lived toward the fiftieth Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. But the copies of Herodotus are not without appearance of defect where Pheidon is mentioned. The chronologers have been desirous of imputing error to those of Strabo, which assert that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus: they would have him but tenth from Hercules; and thus they would make Strabo agree with Pausanias and with the marbles. But this does not complete their business. Strabo will still contradict the presidency of Pheidon in the eighth Olympiad. Moreover that writer, as his copies now stand, is consistent with himself; and, upon Newton's system, consistent with Herodotus. It can scarcely be said that Pausanias, as his copies stand, is consistent with himself: at least he is very deficient where it was clearly his desire to give full information. I am therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the presidency of Pheidon. But when precisely Pheidon did preside, it should seem Strabo could not learn to his satisfaction; otherwise he would probably have named the Olympiad, and not have dated merely by the pedigree.

Having thus far then risked the declaration of my own opinion, I shall not however presume to impose it upon the reader in any instance. I shall insert in the margin Dr. Blair's dates together with Sir Isaac Newton's, after having thus given the best preparatory assistance in my power to direct the choice between them: sorry that I cannot better satisfy either my readers or myself. Some farther observations will occasionally occur in the sequel.

APPENDIX
CHAP. IV.

Pausan. l. vi.
c. 22.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 355.
Herodot. l. vi.
c. 127.

CHAPTER V.

The History of the southern Provinces of GREECE, from the Return of the HERACLEIDS to the Completion of the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LACEDÆMONIANS.

SECTION I.

Recapitulation of events in Greece. General change of Governments from Monarchal to Republican. Different kinds of Government distinguished by the Greeks. Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, Corinth, Eleia, Arcadia.

CHAP. V.
SECT. I.



WE have now taken such a view of the first population of Greece, and the rise of its principal cities, as memorials remaining inable us: we have seen one common war prosecuted by a league of the chiefs of the different states, under a prince acknowledged superior to the rest: we have remarked a great revolution, that changed the inhabitants and the government of the southern part of the country, checked the progress of arts and civilization, and established new divisions of the Grecian people. We have then traced the growth of three singular institutions which renewed and strengthened the political and social union of the nation, and still more the union in religion, which formed the most powerful bond. Through all ages Grecian history runs in various streams, here meeting, there separating, and never, as the history of most other nations, like a river that from various sources has collected its waters, uniting into one ample unbroken flood. But the return of the Heracleids was the last great revolution that gave a new people to any large proportion of the country, and a general turn to its affairs; in consequence of which they assumed those channels in which we shall hereafter mostly see them flow.

A ge-

A general revolution indeed, but of a very different kind, followed shortly; a revolution of each state within itself; which, tho at first it made no sensible change in the political situation of the country at large, had yet consequences of highest importance. We have observed that the governments of the little states of Greece in the first ages, tho of no very regular and certain constitution, were all limited monarchies. Homer seems to have known no other: he makes no mention either of a pure republic or of the absolute rule of one man. When therefore the Heracleids possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, they established everywhere that hereditary limited monarchy which was the only government assimilated to the ideas and temper of their age. The disposition toward a union of the whole nation into one kingdom under the powerful monarchs of Argos, which had appeared before the Trojan war, was checked by the extensive calamities and confusion which followed that expedition, and still more by the equality established among the Heracleid princes in Peloponnesus; and it was soon after finally dissipated through the opposite bias which the politics of the country universally assumed. Those vigorous principles of democracy, which had always existed in the Grecian governments, began to ferment; and in the course of a few ages monarchy was everywhere abolished; the very name of king was proscribed; a commonwealth was thought the only government to which it became men to submit; and the term of Tyrant was introduced to denote those who, in opposition to these new political principles, acquired monarchical sway. We are very deficient of means to trace this remarkable revolution among so many independent little states; yet it must be endeavoured, as far as may be from the scattered information remaining, to give a general idea of the political constitution of Greece through a separate account of every commonwealth, proportioned to its importance among the concerns of the nation.

The many little states into which Greece was divided, the variety of political customs that naturally arose among them, the continual struggles of discordant interests, and the frequent revolutions ensuing,

gave

CHAP. V.
SECT. I.



Homer. passim.
Thucyd. l. i. c. 13.
Aristot. Polit. l. iii. c. 14.
Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. l. v.
Aristot. Polit. l. iii. c. 14.

Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

§ 2

Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 28.
Plutar. Thef.

gave occasion to various distinctions and definitions of forms of government, which were afterward with more or less accuracy adopted by the Romans, and from them have been received into all the languages of modern Europe. The Greeks distinguished, at least in theory, six simple forms of government; four legal and admitted; two not of acknowledged legality, but generally supported by violence. The legal were Monarchy, Hereditary or Legally established Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: the illegal Tyranny, and Assumed or Tyrannical Oligarchy. But absolute MONARCHY, as we have already observed, was unknown among the Greeks as a legal constitution. The title of KING therefore implied with them as with us, not a Right of Absolute Power, but a Legal Superiority of Dignity and Authority in One person above all others of the state, and for their benefit. The peculiar and most indispensable rights of Royalty were Religious Supremacy, and Military Command. In the early ages Kings also commonly exercised Judicial Authority. But Legislation seems never to have been regularly within their single prerogative. After the general abolition of Monarchy in Greece, if a Citizen of a Commonwealth was raised, through whatsoever means, to Monarchical Power, his government was intitled TYRANNY, and himself TYRANT: names which seem scarcely to have been originally terms of reproach; tho such monarchy was generally very deservedly reprobated. A Distinction of Families into those of Higher and Lower Rank, appears to have obtained very early throughout Greece; and nowhere more than at Athens, where, by the constitution of Theseus, the EUPATRIDES, or NOBLY BORN, formed a distinct order of the state, with great privileges*. With the downfall of Monarchy, however, Hereditary Nobility seems to have declined everywhere, and Wealth became the principal criterion of Rank. But every Citizen in every Grecian state was bound to Military Service; and equally the necessity of the commonwealth and the choice of the individual would decide that the

* Aristotle distinguishes the nobles by the title of *ευπατρίδοι*. Polit. l. iv. c. 4.

rich

rich should serve on horseback. Thus was created very generally among the Grecian republics a Rank of Citizens determined by their ability to serve in War on Horseback at their own expence. Such was the origin of KNIGHTHOOD in Rome, and since in the feudal kingdoms of Europe. Where the Noble or the Rich held all the powers of the state, they themselves called their government ARISTOCRACY, which signifies Government by the Better People. But as this form was sometimes oppressive, and generally unpopular, the less honorable term of OLIGARCHY, signifying simply Government by a Few, grew into more general use; and the term Aristocracy was more particularly applied to those governments where persons elected for their Merit by the People held the principal power. DEMOCRACY signified Government by the People at large; all the Freemen of the state in assembly forming the Legal Sovereign, Absolute, and Uncontrollable. But as Democracy was beyond all other governments subject to irregularity and absurd conduct, where unchecked by some balancing power lodged in few hands, it became distinguished by the opprobrious title of OCHLOCRACY, Mob-rule. But most of the Grecian governments had some mixture of two or more of these forms. A simple monarchy, indeed, would be despotism and tyranny: a simple oligarchy but the tyranny of an association, instead of the tyranny of an individual; and a simple democracy scarcely above anarchy. From the various mixture, therefore, of these simple forms, decided whether by accidental custom or by the various prevalence of various interests, arose new distinctions, and sometimes new names. The mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in which the oligarchal power was superior, yet the democratic sufficed to secure freedom and equal right to the people, might, according to Aristotle, be properly distinguished from simple oligarchy by the more honorable title of Aristocracy. That mixture where the democratic power prevailed, yet was in some degree balanced by authority lodged in steadier hands, is distinguished by the same great author by the name of Polity.

CHAP. V.

SECT. I.

H. roo, l. viii.
c. 124.
Aristot. Polit.
l. iv. c. 3.
Strabo, l. x.
p. 481, 482.

Aristot. Polit.
l. iv. c. 6 & 7.

Aristot. Polit.
l. iv. c. 6 &
seq.

It

CHAP. V.

SECT. I.

It may here perhaps be a digression neither in itself absolutely improper, nor intirely usefess for illustration of the subject before us, to observe that the British Constitution is a composition of All the Legal simple forms acknowledged by the Greeks, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. Monarchy with us perfectly accords with the Grecian sense of the term. The Lords form the Oligarchal part of the constitution; and the House of Commons properly the Aristocratical; being composed of persons elected by the People to Legislative Authority for Merit real or supposed *. The Democratical Principle, Equal Law, or, in the Greek term, Isonomy, singularly pervades the whole; the privileges of the peer extending in no degree to his family, and the descendants even of the Blood Royal being PEOPLE, subject to the same laws, the same burdens, and the same judicature with the meanest citizen †. Rights of Election, Trial by Jury, and parish and tything Offices, together with the Right of Addressing and Petitioning either the executive or any branch of the legislature, form a large Democratical Power, more wisely given, and more wisely bounded, notwithstanding some defects, than in any other government that ever existed.

We have seen that in the large and valuable island of CRETE a regular free government, under the presidency of an hereditary prince,

* It is remarkable that Isocrates applies the term Aristocracy as a title of compliment to the Democracy of Athens, distinguishing it as a well constituted democracy from those ill-formed governments which might deserve the name of ochlocracy (1). But in that writer's time the term aristocracy seems scarcely to have been yet appropriated to any particular species of government. He acknowledges but three forms, oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy (2).

† This Right of EQUAL LAW, the peculiar boast of the English constitution, is derived from the Saxon government. It is declared more than once in the Saxon laws yet extant; but never was more emphatically expressed than in a phrase of the laws of Edgar: *le pule*, says

the royal legislator, speaking with the authority of his Witnæmote, *þæt e man ry folephter pýrd, ge earne ge eadg.* L. L. Anglofax. a D. Wilkins ed. p. 77. which, notwithstanding the general energy of the English language, can scarcely be rendered in modern terms with equal force. This it was for which our ancestors contended, when, in the reigns of the early Norman princes, they so often and so earnestly demanded the restoration of the Saxon laws; and this it was that gave origin to the *JUDICIUM PARIUM* AUT *LEGEM TERRÆ* of Magna Charta, which that famous deed has sanctified as the birthright of every Englishman, the *FOLKRIGHT* of the land.

(1) Panathen. p. 512, ed. Paris. Auger.

(2) Panathen. p. 514, ed. Paris. Auger.

was established almost before Grecian history can be said to begin. The naval power acquired by Minos appears to have sunk after him, and the Argian princes gained the superiority in the Grecian seas, together with the sovereignty of the smaller islands nearest to the continent of Greece. Idomeneus, grandson of Minos, and commander of the Cretan troops in the Trojan war, was however among the most powerful of the Grecian chiefs of his time. We are assured by Homer that this prince was one of the few who returned safe from that expedition; and no considerable revolution in Crete seems to have been known either to Homer or Hesiod. It must however have been soon after them that monarchy was abolished there. What caused the revolution, or how it was effected, we have no authentic information: but we find the principal cities became early separate independent commonwealths. The purpose of that rigid military education, which the Cretan laws beyond all things enforced, was perhaps originally more to keep their own slaves in subjection than for any view of foreign conquest, or even any apprehension of invasion at home. After the abolition of monarchy, its effect was chiefly seen in continual wars between the several republics within the island. Thus however the Cretans preserved through many ages their reputation as a Military people. Their Naval skill also became proverbial; but it was chiefly exerted in piracy: and tho the Cretan Laws held their fame, yet the Cretan Character for want of probity became infamous; nor ever after the Trojan war was Crete of any considerable weight in the scale of Grecian politics*.

Odys. l. iii.
v. 191.

Strabo, l. x.
p. 481.

Of the states on the continent of Greece, ARGOS was among the first to abolish monarchy; or, however, so to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among historians whether it existed or no. The

* Κῆρς πρὸς Ἀργιέταις seems to have been an early proverb of nearly the same import as our English Set a thief to catch a thief. Polybius, in the fourth, and still more particularly in the sixth book of his history, speaks strongly to the infamy of the Cretan character, and even denies all merit to the Cretan laws and constitution; which were probably in his time much altered from what, as he says, the ablest

of the elder writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, held in high esteem. The change indeed is particularly remarked by Strabo: Περὶ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὑπολογίζονται ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς χρόνους ἐνέχυρον ἑπορευομένη, καὶ ὑλωτάς ἐκείνης τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφηνε. — Ὑστερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβάλεν ἐπὶ πλείστον. Strabo, l. x. p. 477.

CHAP. V.

SECT. I.

Pausan. l. ii.
c. 19.

Argian government is said to have become republican so early as on the death of Ceisus, son of Temenus the Heracleid. But neither was Argos fortunate in the change. We have indeed no very particular account of either the constitution or the transactions of the Argian commonwealth; but we find it subject to frequent and violent disorders. The higher and lower ranks were continually at variance: the democratical faction was mostly superior: the priesthood had peculiar authority: sometimes tyrants raised themselves over all: once the slaves got possession of the city, and filled the magistracies. The Argian appears to have been originally an ill-constituted government; and no legislator of superior wisdom and probity ever acquired the power, no fortunate train of circumstances ever occurred of themselves to unite liberty and administration upon a firm and even basis. One famous tyrant, Pheidon, lineal successor of the Heracleids, a prince of great abilities, but no moderation, raised himself rather than his country to a superiority which ceased with him. Under its republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy at home, Argos finally lost that preëminence which under monarchical rule it had obtained among the Grecian states. Far from leading the affairs of Peloponnesus, every little town of Argolis itself resisted the Argian dominion: even Mycenæ long asserted independency. Epidaurus, Træzene, and Hermione always maintained themselves as self-governed republics.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 83.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 127.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 338.
Pausan. l. vi.
c. 22.

We have already remarked the fortunate situation of CORINTH by which that city became very early the greatest emporium of Greece. It was probably fortunate also in its constitution: for, as far as appears, without any violent commotion, monarchy flourished there longer than in any other of the principal Grecian cities. At length the Bacchiads (a numerous branch of the royal family so named from their ancestor Bacchis, fifth monarch in succession from Aletes) put to death Telestes the reigning prince, and, assuming the government in association, formed an Oligarchy. An annual magistrate, chosen from among themselves, presided with the title of Prytanis, but with very limited prerogatives. Tho oligarchies were generally odious,

Pausan. l. ii.
c. 4.
Olympiad xxx.
3rd year.
Before Christ
638. *Newton.*
Before the 1st
Olympiad
3 years.
Before Christ
779. *Blair.*

CHAP. V.

SECT. I.

odious, yet Corinth flourished under the Bacchiads. Syracuse and Corcyra, Corinthian colonies, appear to have been, under their administration, subject to the mother-country. Afterward they acquired independency: but the early power and wealth of both, and still more the friendly connection of Syracuse with the parent state remaining through many ages, prove the wisdom with which they were settled. Syracuse requires a history by itself. Corcyra founded early its own colonies Epidamnus and Apollonia in Illyricum. After the Bacchiads had held the administration of Corinth during some generations, they were expelled by Cypselus, who, according to the Grecian writers, in his own person restored monarchy, or, as it became popular to phrase it, tyranny; tho, as superior wisdom and virtue alone never were supposed to give a claim to the titles of king or tyrant, it scarcely appears among historians by what right Cypselus bore either. He was in truth the head of a party, by the strength and through the favor of which he ruled. Determined to rest his authority, and even his safety, wholly on his good deeds and his power of attaching to himself the affections of men, he constantly refused the invidious, but apparently not unusual distinction of a guard, to protect his person against those attempts of the defeated faction which, from the common violence of party in the Grecian commonwealths, might be enough to be apprehended. His virtues, indeed, and particularly his moderation and clemency, are allowed by all; yet he is nevertheless universally by Grecian writers called tyrant of Corinth, and his government tyranny. His son Periander, who succeeded to his power, is not equally famed for the mildness of his administration; yet for his abilities, learning, and munificent encouragement of learned men, was ranked among the sages celebrated by the title of the Seven Wise men of Greece. Periander was also succeeded by his son, whose reign, however, was short. A commonwealth was now established, in which enough was retained of the oligarchy to temper the turbulence and capriciousness of democratical rule; and Corinth, tho not the most renowned, was perhaps the happiest go-

Ol. xliii. 4.
B. C. 605.
N.
Ol. xxx. 2.
B. C. 659.
B.

Arist. Polit.
l. v. c. 12.

Ol. lv. 4.
B. C. 557.
N.
Ol. xlviii. 4.
B. C. 585.
B.

CHAP. V.
SECT. I.

Thucyd. l. i.
c. 13.

Ol. xxx. 4.
B. C. 657.
N.

Ol. xxix. 1.
B. C. 664.
B.

vernment of Greece. The local circumstances of the city appear indeed to have influenced the disposition of the people, whose turn was always more to commerce and arts than to politics, arms, or science; tho in these also they acquired their share of fame. They, first among the Greeks, built vessels of that improved construction for war (whose form is now not certainly known) which we commonly distinguish by the Latin name Triremes; and the first sea-fight recorded in any history was between them and their own colony of Coreyra. The Isthmian games, really a late establishment tho boasting of great antiquity, were celebrated within their territory and under their direction, and brought them considerable advantages. Luxury indeed was the unfailing attendant upon wealth: but colonization and commerce no less certainly produced naval power; and Corinth, tho never singly formidable to its neighbours, was always respected among the Grecian states*.

Polyb. l. ii.
p. 128.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 383; 384.

ACHAIA remained during some generations united under monarchs the posterity of Tifamenus, son of Orestes. Resisting then with success the tyrannical conduct of Ogygus, the last prince of that race, the twelve principal towns became so many independent commonwealths. Thus divided, and each state by itself inconsiderable, Achaia could take no important share in the political affairs of Greece.

The very singular circumstances of ELEIA, which in a great degree secluded its people from politics and war, have been already men-

* Tho Pindar's business was panegyric, yet he would panegyriize upon the best grounds that his subject afforded; and he seems justly to have characterized Corinth in terms of eulogy that would have been but preposterously applied to most of the Grecian cities:

Γνώσομαι
Τὰν ἑλέϊαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου
Πρόθυρον Ποσειδάωνος, ἀγλαῶκευρον.
Ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Ἐυνομία νῆστι, κασίγ-
νητάς τε, Δίκαι πολλῶν
Ἀσφαλὲς βάθρον, καὶ ἡμέ-
τερος Ἐῖράνη, ταμίαι

Ἀθάρασι πλόυτον, χερσίαι
Πᾶσις ἱερόλου Θέμιτος.

Olymp. xiii.

—Let my lays
The fame of happy Corinth bear afar:
Which as a gate to Neptune's isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands.
There fair Eunomia, with her sister-train
Blest Peace and Justice, hold their steady reign;
Who wealth and smiling ease on mortals show'r,
From Themis' genial care drawing their natal
hour.

Pye's Translation of the Olympic Odes
not translated by Weft.

tioned.

tioned. But it was not possible by any institutions to destroy that elasticity given by the author of nature to the mind of man, which continually excites to action, often palpably against interest, and which was strong in the general temper of the Greeks. Mostly indeed attached to rural business and rural pleasures, the Eleians confined their ambition to the flattering preëminence allowed them in the splendid assembly of principal people from every Grecian state at the Olympian festival, and the perhaps yet more flattering respect in which their sacred character was universally held; which was such that the armies of the most powerful states of Greece, having occasion to cross any part of the Eleian territory, surrendered their arms on entering, in trust to receive them again when they had passed the borders. Yet restless spirits arose, not to be so satisfied. Often the Eleians engaged as auxiliaries in the wars of other states; generally indeed on pretence of asserting the cause of religion; but in that cause itself they could not agree among themselves. During some generations, while monarchy subsisted in the posterity of Iphitus, Eleia continued united under one government. But at length the spirit of democracy prevailed there as elsewhere in Greece, and with the same effects. Every considerable town claimed independency: Pisa and Elis became separate commonwealths. Olympia was situated within the territory of Pisa on the northern bank of the river Alpheius, which alone separated its precinct from that city. Elis was between thirty and forty miles distant, but the Eleians retained the exclusive guardianship of the temple and superintendancy of the festival. The Pisæans, however, disputed their right: wars arose between the two cities: each endeavoured to gain allies; and at one time Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, claiming to be by birth the proper representative of Hercules, took to himself the guardianship of the temple, and presided by his own authority at the games. At other times the Pisæans prevailed, and they presided at some Olympiads: but at length, tho at what time we are not certainly informed, the Eleians destroyed Pisa so that scarcely a ruin remained; and ever after, excepting in the 104th Olym-

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 358.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 353.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 127.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 358.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 355.
Diodor. Sic.
l. xv. c. 78.
Pausan. l. v.
c. 10. & l. vi.
c. 22.

CHAP. V. Olympiad, when the Arcadians violently interfered, they held the
 SECT. I. presidency undisturbed while the festival existed *.

ARCADIA was early divided into many small states, of which some retained long the regal form of government; or, to use modern terms perhaps more analogous to the circumstances, they were under the rule of chiefs like the Scottish highland lairds: for the country being wholly mountainous and inland, and the people mostly herdsmen, the towns were small and their inhabitants unpolished. Some improvements, however, would come to them from their neighbours: some were suggested by necessity. When bordering states increased in power, the scattered inhabitants of mountain villages were no longer equal to the protection of their herds and their freedom: for men, together with their cattle, were still principal objects of plunder. On the frontier, therefore, where the most formidable neighbour arose, nine villages uniting made Tegea a considerable city; and five others joined to form that of Mantinea.

Strabo, l. viii.
 p. 337.

* We have no connected history of these events from any one ancient author, and the scraps of information remaining from writers of best authority are not easily reconcilable. Pausanias (1) affirms that the Eleians engaged Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, to protect them against the Pisians in the celebration of the eighth Olympiad. According to that report to which Strabo gave most credit, where it appears he esteemed none certain, the Eleians held the presidency of the festival till the twenty-sixth Olympiad (2). He does not add how or by whom they were then deprived of it; but in a prior passage (3) he relates that Pheidon, king of Argos, tenth in descent from Temenus the Heraclid, and the most powerful Grecian prince of his age, assumed to himself the presidency of the Olympic festival. A similar account is given by Herodotus (4). Strabo adds, that the Eleians, utterly dissatisfied, did not register that Olympiad, but reckoned it among what they termed Anolympiads, and that upon occasion of this

violence of the Argian prince, they first departed from their original principle of trusting wholly to their sacred character for security, and applied themselves to the practice of arms. He adds that, with assistance from Lacedæmon, they at length defeated Pheidon, and acquired the territories of the Pisians and Triphylia. He assigns no dates to any of these events. But Pausanias says that the Pisians, under their prince Pantaleon, ejected the Eleians in the thirty-fourth Olympiad, and held the presidency of the festival till after the forty-eighth. He has not marked with precision the time when the Eleians recovered it and destroyed Pisa; but he says the Eleians called all those Anolympiads in which the Pisians presided, and did not register them in their catalogue. These discordancies and deficiencies in the accounts of two such authors as Strabo and Pausanias deserve the consideration of those who desire to know what credit is due to the Olympic chronology for the times before the Persian war.

(1) b. vi. c. 22.

(2) Strabo, l. viii, p. 355.

(3) p. 355.

(4) b. vi. c. 127.

SECTION

SECTION II.

History of Lacedæmon. Legislation of Lycurgus.

THE conquering Heracleids had scarcely decided upon the division of Peloponnesus when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia fell, died, leaving newborn twin sons, Eurysthene and Procles, or, as he is called by some writers, Patrocles. The mother, it is said, through impartial fondness, refusing to declare which was the elder, it was determined that both those princes should succeed to the throne of their father with equal authority, and that the posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors. Laconia was esteemed a territory of inferior value to both Argolis and Messenia, yet so early as the Trojan war, we find Lacedæmon reckoned among the richest and most powerful cities of Greece. The divided royalty indeed now established, was apparently a form of government little likely to be lasting in itself, or to give power or happiness to the people who lived under it: but as, in the natural body, a fever often leads to a renewal of the constitution, so still more in the political, advantageous establishments commonly owe their very conception to violent disorders. Jealousy, as might be expected, arose between the kings: but hence it became necessary for each to court the favor of the people: and while in other Grecian states the tyranny of the one king drove the multitude to assume by violent means the supreme power to themselves, in Lacedæmon the concessions of the two gave by degrees such importance to the people, that the royal authority scarcely remained an object of either terror or envy. Thus, however, the powers of government were at length so weakened, that the worst perhaps of all tyrannies, anarchy, prevailed in Sparta. The evils of this lawless situation appear to have been sometimes checked by abler princes, who led the contentious spirit of the people to exert itself in foreign wars, in which some successes were obtained. Little, how-

ever,

CHAP. V.

SECT. II.

Herodot. l. v.
c. 52.

Strabo, l. viii.
p. 366.
Pausan. l. iv.
c. 3.

Plutarch.
Lycurg.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 13.

Herodot. l. i.
c. 65.
Strabo, l. viii.
p. 365.
Plutarch.
Lycurg.
Pausan. l. iii.
c. 2 & 7.

CHAP. V.
SECT. II.

ever, of importance occurs among the traditions concerning the Lacedæmonian state till Lycurgus, of the race of Procles, succeeded his brother Polydectes in the throne. Nor are we informed with the certainty that might be expected, in what age, or even with what contemporaries this extraordinary man lived. But the full assurance we have of the subsistence, through many centuries, of that wonderful phenomenon in politics and in the history of humanity, the Spartan system, the establishment of which is by the strongest concurrence of authorities referred to him, may teach us that we ought not to refuse our belief to a relation of facts merely because they are strange; and moreover, that the uncertainty of the date of any event in those early ages, when no regular method of dating was in use, is no argument that the event itself is uncertain*.

Plutarch.
Lycurg.

According to that account which Plutarch seems to have preferred, Lycurgus was fifth in descent from Procles, and tenth from Hercules. When the scepter devolved to him by the death of his brother, the widow of that prince was breeding. He was no sooner assured of this, than he declared publicly that he held the throne thenceforward upon trust only, to resign it to his brother's child, if it should prove a son; and dropping accordingly the title of king, he retained the royal power as prodictus, or protector only. I proceed with this anecdote, which found credit with the best ancient historians, and may the rather deserve notice as tending to account for that veneration borne to the character of Lycurgus, which made it wisdom in him to undertake what would have been madness in an ordinary legislator to think of. The princefs then, we are told, more anxious to remain a queen than to become a mother, caused private intimation to be

* The most judicious writers of antiquity have contributed to the perplexity about the age of Lycurgus. See Thucydides, b. i. c. 18, Plato in *Minos*, Xenophon of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, and Aristotle on Government. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus the chronologers undertook to decide upon it; but Plutarch, in the beginning of his life of Lycur-

gus, sufficiently lets us know what credit is due to their decision. Perhaps the best modern attempt to reconcile the discord of ancient authors on this subject, as far as the succession of the Lacedæmonian kings only is concerned, may be found in note 32 p. 31 of Weffeling's Herodotus.

given to Lycurgus that, if he would marry her, no child of his late brother's should ever interfere with his possession of the throne. The protector thought it prudent, in the weakness of government and licentiousness of the times, to dissemble his abhorrence of so atrocious a proposal. He only insisted that the queen should not endanger her own life and health by any attempts to procure abortion, and he would provide, he said, that the child when born should be no hindrance to their mutual wishes. When she drew near her time he placed trusty persons in waiting about her, whom he directed, if she brought a girl, to leave it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it immediately to him wheresoever he might be. It happened that he was supping in public with the principal magistrates when the queen was delivered of a son, which, according to command, was instantly carried to him. He received the child in his arms, and addressing himself to those present, 'Spartans,' he said, 'a king is born to you,' and immediately placed the infant in the royal seat. Observing then the joy which prevailed through the company, rather from admiration of his prudence and uprightness than from any cause they had to rejoice at the birth of a son to the late king, he named the boy Charilaus, which signifies the people's joy*.

But notwithstanding the power and influence which Lycurgus derived from his high birth and high office, together with the esteem in which he was held by all good men, it was not difficult amid the general lawlessness then prevalent in Sparta, for the brother of the queen-mother to raise a strong faction against him. Finding it therefore no season to attempt that reformation in the state which he wished, he determined, being yet a very young man, to indulge his appetite for knowledge by visiting such foreign countries as were most celebrated for art and science; the only way, in that early age, by which a desire of knowledge could be gratified. Voluntarily, or involuntarily, he left the administration of Sparta to his opponents,

Herodot. l. i.
c. 65.
Aristot. Polit.
l. ii. c. 8.
Plutarch.
Lycurg.

* *Ναρίλαον ἀνάμασι, διὰ τὸ τοῦς πάντας ἵνασι περιχαρῆς.* Plutarch. Lycurg.

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Strabo, l. x.
Plut. Lyncurg.

and passed to Crete; induced by its singular laws and institutions, hitherto the most renowned of Greece. He is said there to have formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he engaged so far in his designs as to persuade him to pass to Sparta, and, by popular poems adapted to the purpose, to prepare the minds of the people for those alterations of government and manners which himself was already meditating. It is a common opinion that he also visited Asia Minor, where Homer's poems were then in every body's mouth, and that on his return he first brought them into general reputation in Greece.

The disorders of Sparta were now grown to a magnitude no longer supportable. The kings were without authority, the laws without efficacy, the anarchy was extreme, and all ranks suffered. In this situation of things the name of Lyncurgus was frequently mentioned: his approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, and that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men, were recalled to public attention. At length it was agreed by kings and people to invite him to return to his country, and to take upon himself, in quality of legislator, the reformation of the state. He joyfully received the summons; but, in undertaking so arduous an office, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to avail himself of whatever the temper and prejudices of the times offered, that might contribute to his success. He had already imperceptibly begun the business by means of the poems of Thales; poetry being in those days, while letters were little known, the general mean of popular instruction, and often successfully used to excite popular passion. Before he would exercise his new authority, he went to Delphi to procure the opinion of a divine sanction to his institutions. The directors of the oracle were in the highest degree favorable to his wishes; and he carried back that celebrated response, as Plutarch calls it, in which the Pythoness declared ' That he was singularly favored by the gods; himself more
' god

Plut. Lyncurg.
Herodot. l. i.
c. 65.

‘ god than man ; and that it should be given him to establish the most excellent of all systems of government.’

Armed with this high authority, in addition to that before derived from the voice of his country, he returned to Sparta ; having already, it should seem, formed his plan, not so properly for giving laws to a state, as for totally new-modelling a people, and making them other beings, different from all besides of human race. But, with ideas of a boldness that verged upon extravagance, he never failed to observe the most prudent caution in carrying them into execution. He began now with assembling the principal citizens, to consult concerning a plan of reformation ; but at this meeting he disclosed nothing of his own design. He then took opportunities to advise with his more particular friends privately ; and with these he was freer in communication, opening to each more or less as he found them disposed. When he had thus formed a party strong enough to support his measures, the kings Archelaus and Charilaus still strangers to his purposes, he summoned an assembly of the people. As the multitude thronged the agora, that place in Grecian towns which served equally the purpose of a market and of a general meeting for public debate, alarm was taken at the appearance of Lycurgus’s confidential friends in arms. Charilaus observing a tumult, unaware of the cause, and unprepared for defence, immediately fled to a neighbouring temple ; but receiving assurance that no violence was intended, and being naturally of a complying temper, he returned to the assembly, and joined his uncle’s party. Archelaus, with more inclination, was thus left with means too inadequate to attempt resistance, and Lycurgus proceeded unopposed. He immediately committed the executive power of the state to a senate composed of thirty persons : twenty-eight selected from among those leading men in whom he could most confide, with the two kings as presidents. To this body he gave also the most important part of the legislative authority ; for laws were to originate there only. To the assembly of the people he intrusted merely the power of confirming or annulling what the senate proposed, forbid-

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Aristot. Polit.
l. iii. c. 14.

ding them all debate: the members only gave a simple affirmative or negative, without being allowed to speak even so far as to declare why they gave either. To the people, however, he farther committed the future election of senators. The prerogatives of the kings consisted in being hereditary senators, commanders in chief of the armies, and high priests of the nation.

The constitution thus far determined, his next step was the boldest innovation ever attempted by legislator. All the evils that can arise in an unsettled ill-constituted government from the accumulation of wealth into few hands, were daily experienced in Sparta: the poor suffered from the oppressions of the rich; the rich were in perpetual danger from the despair of the poor; and where laws neither restrained nor protected, dark fraud or open and atrocious violence were the unceasing produce of avarice, suspicion and misery. To combat such inveterate and complicated mischief, said Lycurgus, by ordinary methods of criminal courts and penal laws, were replete with uncertainty, danger, and even cruelty, to a degree that cannot be foreseen. How much better were it, instead of arming the hand of the executioner against the effect, at once to remove the cause! He had begun his work by securing those of higher rank to his party, and by the establishment of the senate had placed almost all legal authority in their hands. But he did not mean a partial benefit: he would extend the advantages of his laws equally to all, leaving no distinctions but of age and merit. In his present purpose he was sure of the most numerous party, the poor; and these, headed by himself, would immediately become the most powerful. We have no tradition that this measure, so opposite to the strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, produced any commotion. The principal land-owners were persuaded to part peaceably with their possessions, that they might preserve their authority; foreseeing probably that resistance would but occasion the loss of both. Thus was effected in Lacedæmon that extraordinary division of lands, which allotted to every family an equal share, and banished, according to Plutarch's expression, all distinction between

between man and man, other than what arose from the praise of virtuous, and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares, nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest to other townships.

This regulation, however, would have been vain but for another which attended it: Lycurgus forbid absolutely all use of gold and silver. Coin he allowed, but of iron only; which was too weighty and cumbersome, in proportion to its value, for inordinate wealth to be easily either accumulated or used. The legislator thus at once obtained one great object, the annihilation of foreign commerce. The Spartan money was derided through Greece: no foreign ship henceforward was seen in the ports of Laconia: flatterers, fortune-tellers, and pandars, says Plutarch, avoided the hostile territory; and all the trades subservient to luxury were effectually banished.

The next ordinance was not carried so quietly. Still following the Cretan model, Lycurgus absolutely forbid that any man should live at home; strictly ordaining that all, even the kings, should eat at public tables only, where the strictest moderation and frugality should be observed. His former law struck at the root of luxury: this aimed at the destruction of every scattered feed; at the annihilation of every use of wealth, of the remotest desire to possess more than others. None of his innovations, we are told, gave so much offence. In an assembly of the people so violent an outcry was raised against him that, apprehensive of the burst of popular passion, and of the advantage that might be taken of it by his particular enemies, he retired toward a neighbouring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the first families of Sparta, among others, pursued him, and, as he turned, struck him in the face with a stick, and put out an eye. Lycurgus notwithstanding reached the temple; and finding that the multitude were not so mad in their fury as to forget the respect due in the opinion of the times to the sanctity of the asylum, he exhibited

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to them his lacerated countenance dropping with gore ; and when he had at length procured silence and attention, spoke with such moderation of temper, and such force of argument, that he converted their rage into pity and remorse ; inasmuch that, on the spot, they delivered up Alcander to abide his judgment. Lycurgus drew advantage from every circumstance. Instead of condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him, by gentle argument and engaging behaviour, to condemn himself ; and in the end gained him, from being his most violent opponent, to become his most strenuous partizan. Persisting then in his measure, he not only procured the establishment of it, but he went farther. The more completely to insure equality, and to repress every desire of superfluities, he directed that none should refuse to lend whatsoever he was not immediately using, and that any might take, even without asking, whatsoever he wanted of his neighbour's ; being only bound to replace it undamaged. Private property thus was nearly annihilated.

Xenoph. de
Rep. Lacon.
Aristot. Polit.
l. ii. c. 5.

These extraordinary changes being effected, he had little to fear from popular opposition to what farther he might wish to establish : the principal remaining difficulty was to provide for the permanency of what was already done. We are not informed with any certainty what progress letters had made in Greece in Lycurgus's time : but we are told that he would have none of his laws written : oracles were delivered by voice alone ; and he would have his laws considered as oracles ; as emanations from that divine response which sanctified the voice of his country, that had appointed him to the office of legislator : he would have them engraved in the hearts of the people ; and, to effect this, he endeavoured so to direct the education of the rising generation, that his institutions might be as a law of nature to them. In abolishing distinction of rank, it was his intention not to depress but to elevate his fellowcountrymen ; to give every Lacedæmonian those advantages which, in other states, a few only can enjoy ; to make the whole people one family ; every brother of which equally should receive the most liberal education, and equally live in the most liberal manner.

manner. The exercise of mechanical arts, and even of agriculture, was totally forbidden to free Lacedæmonians. All such business was to be left to slaves. The law required that every Lacedæmonian should be, in the strictest sense of the modern term, a gentleman. No business was allowed him but that of the state; and for this, in peace and in war, it was the purpose of education equally to fit every man.

And here, as in every thing else, Lycurgus carried his views far beyond those of ordinary legislators. Having directed the institutions already mentioned against internal evils, of which wealth is elsewhere so plentiful a source, it was necessary now to provide against external violence: and while for the first purpose he made his fellowcountrymen a nation of philosophers, he would, for the other, make them a nation of soldiers superior to all the rest of mankind. With this view, he began with the care of children before their birth: he would have none born but strong and able men. In other countries great pains are taken to have the more useful brutes perfect in their kind. In England the science of breeding horses and dogs of the most generous temper, and highest bodily ability, has been carried to amazing perfection. Lacedæmon is the only country known in history where attention was ever paid to the breed of men. Lycurgus, considering those from whom the future race of Spartans were to spring as of high consequence to the state, gave very particular directions for the management of the young women. Instead of that confinement, and those sedentary employments of the loom and the needle, to which the other Grecian ladies were in a manner condemned, he ordered that they should be exercised in running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit and the javelin; that they should live little within doors, and avoid those indulgences which elsewhere make all above the lowest rank of women so tender and helpless. Thus, he thought, both themselves would better support the pains of child-bearing, and the children born of them would be more vigorous. It was customary among all the Greeks for the men to appear in public quite naked at their athletic exercises. Lycurgus directed that the young women should

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should all, at certain festivals, appear in public without any covering, dance thus in presence of the young men, and sing, addressing themselves particularly to them. That opinion of the sanctity of wedlock, and that respect for the purity of the marriage bed, which were common through Greece, he thought in many instances inconvenient; and his morality was always made subservient to his political purposes. To be unmarried, and without children for the commonwealth, he caused to be accounted shameful: but it was indifferent who was the father, provided the child was a fine one. For he reckoned all children to belong not so much to their parents as to the state, the common parent of all; and considering jealousy as a passion often mischievous, and always useless, he contrived to banish it from Sparta by making it ridiculous. Measures were, however, necessary to prevent too promiscuous concubinage, which must be attended with the greatest political evils: and he found means, in his system, which, with any other, it would have been impossible to have put in practice. He made it disgraceful and criminal in young men to be seen in company with young women, even with their wives. The married youth was to continue his exercises with the young men by day; he was to sleep in the common dormitory at night; and it was only by stealth, and with the utmost caution, that he could visit his bride. Tho' it was held in itself right that he should visit her, yet shame, public rebuke, perhaps stripes, were the consequence of his being seen going or coming: insomuch that it was held creditable for a man that his wife should become a mother without having been ever seen in company with her husband. It is remarkable that, of all the people of Greece, among the rough and warlike Spartans only we find the women free and respected as they were among the northern nations; and it appears still more extraordinary when we consider what a morality was theirs. But desire of applause, and dread of shame, were what Lycurgus depended upon as mainsprings of his most singular political machine; and it seems to have been a very judiciously conceived part of his plan, to place the women upon that independent and respectable

table footing which enabled them to be powerful, as they will always be willing, and generally just dispensers of such reward and punishment as applause can give or reproach inflict*.

The Spartan legislator had as little consideration for the lives as for the feelings of his fellow-creatures. All children were examined, as soon as born, by persons appointed for the purpose: the well-formed and vigorous only were preserved: those in whom any defect either of shape or constitution appeared, were exposed without mercy to perish in the wilds of mount Taygetus. And that ignorance and prejudice might not in Lacedæmon, as elsewhere, corrupt what nature had produced excellent, those who were judged worth preserving to the commonwealth were delivered to the care of nurses publicly provided, and properly instructed to coöperate judiciously with nature in the rearing of infants. At the age of seven years the boys were removed to the public schools; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to educate his children otherwise than according to the mode prescribed by law. The masters were always chosen from among persons of the first consideration, and the schools were common places of resort for those of more advanced age; all of whom, according to that principle of patriotism which above all things Lycurgus took pains to inculcate, considering themselves as fathers not of their own only, but of all the children of the commonwealth, were attentive to watch the behaviour of all, and to assist in preserving good order, and in promoting the acquisition of valuable accomplishments. The business of education here was not so much to give the knowledge of a great variety of things, as to form the passions, sentiments, and ideas to that tone which might best assimilate with the constitution of the state; and so to exercise the abilities of both body and mind, as to

* The legislator's idea appears to have been founded on the common manners and sentiments of the heroic ages. Homer represents Hector acknowledging fear of the reproaches of the Trojan ladies.

— Ἄλλ' ἂν μάλ' αὖτις
'Αἰδέομαι Τρώας καὶ ΤΡΩΑΔΑΣ ἰδυσιπέπλους,
'Α, κε καὶς ὡς νόσφιν αἰνυμένω περ ἄλλοι.
Hud. l. vi. v. 443.

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lead them to the highest possible capacity for the performance of every thing useful ; particularly of every thing useful to the commonwealth ; for the love of their country was ever held out to the young Lacedæmonians as the polar star which should influence all their actions, all their affections, all their thoughts. Letters were taught for use only, not for ornament. Indeed in Lycurgus's time books were scarcely known : but the spirit of his laws remaining still in force when literature had arrived at meridian glory in other parts of Greece, the Spartans, tho always famed for wisdom, never became eminent for learning. In Spartan education, however, great attention was paid to conversation : loquaciousness was reprobated ; but the boys were exercised at quickness in reply ; and a concise sententious stile of speech, with repartees and satirical jokes, was much encouraged. But what, above all things, were equally most valued as qualities, and most insisted on as accomplishments, were to be all-daring and all-patient, and to be highly sensible to applause and shame. It was with a view to these that Lycurgus established that encouragement to thieving among the Lacedæmonian boys which has by some been esteemed the disgrace of his institutions. But those who select this circumstance for blame will, upon due consideration, be found to misconceive the legislator. His fundamental principle was, that the commonwealth was all in all : that individuals, in comparison, were nothing : that they had no right of property, nor even of life, but in subordination to the wants of the common parent. He had in consequence nearly abolished private property : he had in a manner annihilated equally honesty and dishonesty, by removing from his fellowcountrymen both want and riches. But education was, for the service of the commonwealth, to make the Spartan boys, in the highest possible degree, bold, vigilant, skilful, and obedient soldiers ; with a strong point of honor, resting immediately on the desire of applause and fear of shame to themselves, but ever ultimately guided by the love of their country. With this principle and these views, the legislator directed that they should wear but one garment, which
should



should serve equally in winter and summer: that they should sleep on no better bed than rushes, which themselves should gather. The same plain food he allowed to them as to the men; but in very scanty proportion, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the messrooms, kitchens, or larders of the men, undiscovered, they were allowed to enjoy the fruit of their boldness and skill: but, if detected in the attempt, they were punished severely; not for theft, but for awkwardness and unguardedness. The commonwealth, said the legislator, allows sustenance to you as to the men, but it requires many duties of you. Food shall be given you; sufficient for your support: but would you indulge in what more the appetite may crave, you must earn it. Whatever you can acquire by exercising in peace that boldness, dexterity, and vigilance which hereafter may be useful to the commonwealth in war, is yours; the commonwealth gives it you. This certainly was clearly understood; and it seems unquestionably to follow, that such acquisition of property among the Spartan boys had nothing of the immoral and disgraceful nature of theft in other countries.

Education among the Spartans could scarcely be said to end. When boys approached manhood their discipline increased in strictness. To check, says Xenophon, the boiling passions of that critical period of life, the legislator augmented their stated labors, and abridged their leisure. Nor was there any remission but on military service: there many indulgences were allowed; inasmuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury; the city that of labor, study, spare diet, and severe discipline. Even cleanliness of person, or, at least, any particular attention to it, was discouraged in the city; but in the camp not only neatness was required, but even ornament in dress was approved. Before the age of thirty none were allowed to meddle with public affairs of any kind: and even after that age, it was not reputable for a man to addict himself to either political or judicial business. But attendance upon the schools was every man's concern. Every man also gave a portion of

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his time to military and athletic exercises; and, as an amusement, hunting was greatly encouraged. Poetry having been made by Lycurgus instrumental in the execution of his scheme of reformation, could not fail to find favor in his established system. Music followed of course. Together they made a necessary part of the ceremony and of the amusement of religious festivals, which were frequent at Sparta as in every other Grecian city. But all kinds of poetry and music were not allowed: the stile of both was strictly under the restraint of the magistrate. Their hours of leisure from these avocations the Lacedæmonians spent chiefly in assemblies for the purpose of conversation, which they called by a name peculiar to themselves, *Leskhe*, and to these much of their time was given. Of private business a Spartan could have but little. It was highly disreputable for his family to ingross his attention; and private study was scarcely less reprobated. For Lycurgus, as Plutarch remarks, would have his fellowcountrymen neither desire nor even know how to live by themselves, or for themselves.

But what most strikingly sets Lycurgus above all other legislators is that, in so many circumstances apparently out of the reach of law, he controled and formed to his own mind the wills and habits of his people. Thus he prescribed sobriety; and the Lacedæmonians were sober. Probably all legislators would prescribe sobriety, if they could hope to make the law effectual. But Lycurgus prescribed mirth to his people; and they were merry: nay, he prescribed a particular kind of mirth: the English proverb, *Be merry and wise*, was his rule; and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by wisdom. He prescribed a peculiar stile of conversation; and while Sparta existed his people were remarkable for that stile which even now is distinguished throughout Europe by the name of *Laconic*. He prescribed respect to age. This is a law of nature; but no legislator ever succeeded like Lycurgus in making a whole people uniformly obedient to it. In other governments valuable institutions

often

often result from fortuitous concurrences or trains of circumstances ; but in Lacedæmon not only all was directed by the comprehensive mind of the legislator, but in many instances we may clearly discover the process by which he produced his most singular effects. With regard to mirth and the stile of conversation, for instance ; he directed that, during meals, questions should be put to the boys, to which ready but short answers were required. This was equally amusement and business for those of advanced years ; and, in the scarcity of both allowed to the Spartans, was not likely to be neglected. Great attention therefore being given by those who superintended education, among whom were all the first characters of the state, both to the matter and manner of the answers, informing, correcting, applauding, as they found occasion, quickness and propriety in reply, together with a manner of speaking at once graceful, respectful, and determined, became habitual among the Lacedæmonians. It appears at first view very extraordinary that, prescribing modesty to the Spartan youth, he should really make them all modest. But this too was a regular consequence of his institutions. In other states birth and possessions giving rank and authority, the young and the profligate are thus continually seen superior to the old and the worthy : there age can never find its due respect. But in Lacedæmon eminence and power were the meed of age and merit alone. That strict obedience therefore which was required of the young ; that constantly watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged ; not by a few appointed for the purpose, but by all the elder persons of the commonwealth ; together with the placing of all legal authority exclusively in the hands of the old ; all these circumstances united, naturally and necessarily produced that modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, for which Lacedæmon became so famous. In other cities, says Xenophon, those of nearly the same age keep company mostly together ; and in presence of equals respect and circumspection least prevail : but in Sparta the laws of Lycurgus require that the young and the old constantly associate. Hence followed,

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Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.

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what the same elegant writer and experienced observer of mankind farther remarks, that whereas in other states the great esteem it a degradation to be thought under the restraint of legal power, in Sparta on the contrary the greatest make it their pride to set the example of humility, of respect for the magistrates, and of zealous obedience to the laws.

Lycurgus having thus established his plan of government upon principles diametrically opposite, as Xenophon observes, in almost every particular to those of the other Grecian states, thought it necessary for its preservation to prevent as much as possible all intercourse of his people with theirs. He therefore forbade foreign travel, and allowed the resort of strangers to Sparta but under great limitations. Foreign commerce he had annihilated, as we have already seen, without an express law for the purpose.

We are not with any certainty informed how far the treatment of slaves among the Lacedæmonians, such as we afterward find it, was prescribed by Lycurgus; but it certainly flowed from his system, and is indeed an inexcusable disgrace to it. There are different accounts of the origin of those miserable men, who were distinguished from all other slaves by name as by condition. The most received is that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependence of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Sous, son of Procles, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery; and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. The institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of the Lacedæmonian slaves. As husbandry and all mechanical arts were now to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the state was considerably increased: but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became in a great degree the slave of every freeman. In proportion also as their consequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched

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Aristot. Polit.
l. ii. c. 5.

by thousands of jealous masters. Yet tho it were unjust to impute either to the command or to the intention of Lycurgus that cruelty in the masters or that misery of the slaves which we find to have been afterward really established by law, it is however impossible to exculpate his institutions from them. Never was human nature degraded by system to such a degree as in the miserable Helots. Every possible method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible condition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden everything manly, and they were commanded everything humiliating of which man is capable, while beasts are not. A cruel jealousy became indispensable in watching a body of men, far superior in number to all the other subjects of the state, treated in a manner so singularly provoking indignation and resentment. Hence that abominable institution the Cryptia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the day, that they might with more advantage in the night execute their commission, which was to murder any Helots they met, to thin their numbers; but particularly the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been observed. Notwithstanding, however, these inhuman and disgraceful precautions, Lacedæmon was oftener in danger of utter subversion from its slaves than from foreign enemies.

Plutarch.
Lycurg.

Herodotus, as well as Plutarch, attributes to Lycurgus the honor of the MILITARY code of Sparta equally as of the civil; and the higher authority of Xenophon goes much to confirm their testimony. If the Spartan military was really put by the great legislator upon the footing which that soldier-philosopher describes, the improvement since Homer's age was indeed extraordinary. Probably, however, improvement did not cease with Lycurgus, but was continued, as
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Herodot. l. i.
c. 65.
Plutarch.
Lycurg.
Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.

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experience gave occasion, in the course of warfare little intermitted through successive centuries. But that fundamental law which bade the Lacedæmonians place their security in their discipline and their courage, and not in fortifications, breathes the very spirit of Lycurgus. Lacedæmon was accordingly never fortified. The kings were commanders in chief of the forces; and their authority, as the nature of military command requires, was much greater in the army than in the state. They were, however, still amenable to the civil power for undue exercise of that necessary, but dangerous extent of supremacy.

There remain to us two accounts of the Composition of the Lacedæmonian Army, from authors both living when Sparta was in its highest glory, both military men, both of great abilities, and both possessing means of information such as few, not themselves Lacedæmonians, could obtain. In general they agree; but on some essential points they differ, in a manner not to be accounted for but by the supposition of some error in the transcription of their works. According to Xenophon, the legislator distributed the Lacedæmonian forces into six divisions of foot and as many of horse; each of these divisions in either service having the title of Mora. The officers of each mora of infantry, he says, were one Polemarch, four Lochages, eight Pentecosters, and sixteen Enomotarchs; but the number of soldiers he leaves unmentioned. Thucydides, without noticing the mora, describes the Lacedæmonian infantry thus: 'Each Lochus consisted of four Pentecostyes, and each pentecostys of four Enomoties: four men fought in the front of each enomoty: the depth of the files was varied according to circumstances at the discretion of the lochage; but the ordinary depth was eight men.' Thus the enomoty would consist of thirty-two men, the pentecostys of a hundred and twenty-eight, the lochus of five hundred and twelve, and a mora composed of four lochi would be two thousand and forty-eight. But, according to Xenophon, if the enomoty was of thirty-two men, and it appears nearly certain that it was not of more, the pen-

Xenoph. de
Rep. Lac.

Thucyd. l. v.
c. 66 & 68.

pentecostys would be but sixty-four, the lochus a hundred and twenty-eight, the mora only five hundred and twelve, and the whole Lacedæmonian infantry three thousand and seventy-two. We are, however, informed by Plutarch, that by the division of lands in Laconia only, before the acquisition of Messenia, thirty-nine thousand families were provided for. The Lacedæmonians were not generally admitted to the honor of going upon service beyond the bounds of Laconia till after the age of thirty : yet, as the proportion of cavalry was very small, and every Lacedæmonian was a soldier, we cannot reckon the infantry much fewer than forty thousand. In the Persian war we shall find ten thousand employed in one army beyond Peloponnesus, when a considerable force besides was on distant service with the fleet, and while an enemy within Peloponnesus would make a powerful defence necessary at home. Thus it appears scarcely dubious but there must be some mistake in the copies of Xenophon. I have thought it nevertheless proper to be so particular in a detail which cannot completely satisfy, not only because of the well-earned fame of the Spartan military, but also because of the high character of the authors of these differing accounts, and farther because the impossibility to reconcile them will at least apologize for deficiencies which may appear hereafter in relating operations of the Lacedæmonian forces. For the military reader will have observed, that the difference is not merely in names and numbers, but materially regards the composition of the Lacedæmonian armies. This, according to Thucydides was formed with the utmost simplicity, from the file of eight men, by an arithmetical progression of fours ; and probably for some purposes the file itself was divided into four quarter-files. But the half-file was of four men, which, doubled, became a file. Four files then made the enomoty, four enomoties the pentecostys, four pentecostyes the lochus, and, according to Xenophon, four lochi the mora, which was thus analogous to the modern brigade of four battalions. Xenophon farther informs us, that the mora was the proper command of the polemarch. From both writers it appears that

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the polemarchs were general officers, subordinate only to the kings; and this seems farther proof that Thucydides's account of the composition of the lochus, and the calculation founded upon it of the strength of the mora, are just*.

Subordination, in the Lacedæmonian discipline, as Thucydides in pointed terms remarks, was simple in principle but multiplied in degrees, so that responsibility for due execution of orders was widely extended; the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small†. Upon the whole, indeed, there appears great analogy between the composition of the Lacedæmonian army and that of the modern European, particularly the English, whether we take the lochus of Thucydides, or the mora of Xenophon, as a battalion. The resemblance in the formation was closer till of very late years, when the deep files of the old discipline have been totally rejected. Like the company, or subdivision of our battalions, the enomoty appears also to have been the Principle of Motion in the Lacedæmonian forces. Whatever change was to be made in the extent of the line, in the depth of the files, or in the position of the front, the evolution seems to have been performed within each enomoty by itself; the just reference of these primary constituent bodies to one another, and to the whole, being a second business. Farther than this, for want of accurate knowledge of the technical phrases, it is hazardous to attempt explanation of those evolutions of the La-

* Thucydides's account of the communication of orders through the Lacedæmonian armies seems also more conformable to his own account of their composition than to what remains as Xenophon's. Yet the investigators of Greek antiquities have very generally inclined to the latter; apparently for no reason but because they would have the command of the penteconter, penteconter, or pentecontater (for thus variously the title is written), exactly correspond to the original meaning of his name; and on this shadow of a foundation they assert that the enomoty, including its commander, was of only twenty-five men, tho it appears so clearly from Thucydides that its average complement was

thirty-two. Nothing, we well know, is more common than for names to remain when things are altered: if hereafter the meaning of the modern words colonel and comtable should be sought in their derivation, what strange error would result! The Pentecontarchia of Arrian's time was a command not of fifty, as the name seems to import, but of sixty-four men, and the Hecatontarchia of a hundred and twenty-eight. Arrian. *Tact.* p. 39. ed. Amiel. & Lipz. 1750.

† Σχολῶν γάρ τε πάν, πολλὴ δόλου, το στρατιῶν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἄρχοντων ἐσσι, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς τῶν πραγμάτων πινδὸς προσέκει. Thucyd. l. v. c. 66.

cedæmonian troops which Xenophon has even minutely described, and concerning which his applause highly excites curiosity. Some other circumstances, however, he has related in terms sufficiently clear. Lycurgus, he says, on account of the weakness of angles, directed the circular form for incampment; unless where a mountain, a river, or some other accident of the ground afforded security. A camp-guard was mounted daily; precisely, it should seem, analogous to the modern quarter-guard and rear-guard, to keep order within the camp. A different guard for the same purpose was mounted by night. For security against the enemy out-sentries and vedettes were posted. An advanced guard of horse always preceded the march of the army. Xenophon has thought it worth while particularly to mention that the Lacedæmonians wore a scarlet uniform, and the origin of this he refers to Lycurgus. The Lacedæmonian troops were always singularly well provided with all kinds of useful baggage and camp-necessaries, and a large proportion of Helot servants, laborers, and artificers attended, with waggons and beasts of burthen. It appears indeed to have been a principle of the Lacedæmonian service, that the soldier should be as much as possible at ease when off duty, and should have no business but that of arms.

Other states which have flourished by the wisdom of their laws, and the goodness of their constitution, have risen by slow degrees to that excellence which has led them to power and celebrity; and fortunate circumstances have often done more for them than their wisest legislators; who have indeed seldom dared to attempt all that themselves thought best. But for Lycurgus nothing was too difficult, nothing too dangerous: he changed everything at once: new-modelled government, manners, morals; in a manner new-made the people: and yet with all these violent alterations, these experiments in politics hazardous to such extreme, no one consequence seems to have escaped his penetrating genius; no one of his daring ideas failed in practice; he foresaw, and he provided for everything. There was a disease inherent in the vitals of his system, which yet must not

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be imputed to him as a fault, since human nature seems in few situations to admit either remedy or preventative which may not prove worse than the disease: palliatives alone can safely be attempted. For the military turn which Lycurgus so much encouraged in his fellow-countrymen, and the perfection of discipline which he established among them, were necessary not only to that respectable independency which he wished them to enjoy, but even to the security of their existence as a people. He was, however, not unaware that thirst of conquest, and ambition to command, must unavoidably spring up and flourish in a soil so prepared. Two prohibitions, which had other more obvious purposes, appear at the same time to have been intended indirectly to obviate the mischiefs that might be apprehended from these passions: he forbade the Lacedæmonians to engage in frequent wars with the same people; and he forbade them, from the moment when victory was decisively theirs, to pursue a flying enemy. Each of these prohibitions tended strongly to prevent the complete conquest of any foreign territory: at the same time that the first had, for its more obvious purpose, the prevention of foreigners from acquiring the Spartan discipline; and the other, beside securing his fellowcountrymen against the misfortunes incident to rash pursuit, as it lessened to opposing armies the danger of flight, was likely to make victory often cheaper to the Lacedæmonians than it would be in parallel circumstances to any other people. These, with the exclusion of wealth, were the curbs that Lycurgus put upon that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellow-countrymen. Those other defects of the Spartan constitution, of which we are informed by the comment of a great philosopher and politician who saw it in decay, whether originally in Lycurgus's establishment, or whether of after-growth, will rather be objects of future consideration.

Lycurgus then having with invincible courage and unwearied perseverance, and with penetration and judgement still much more singular, executed the most extraordinary plan ever even devised by man;

man *; waiting a while to see his machine in motion, and having the satisfaction to find every part adapted, and the whole move as he wished, his next and last concern was to secure its duration. Summoning an assembly of the people, he observed upon what had been done, 'That it proved upon experience good, and would, he hoped, go far toward assuring virtue, and of course happiness to his fellowcountrymen. He had yet one thing to propose, which however he would not venture upon till he had consulted the god; for which purpose he would go himself to Delphi. In the mean time they should promise him that nothing should be altered before his return.' Immediately kings, senate, and people unanimously desired him to go, and readily engaged, by a solemn oath, that till he returned nothing should be altered. His reception at Delphi was as favorable as before. The oracle declared 'That the constitution of Sparta, as it now stood, was excellent, and, as long as it remained intire, would insure happiness and glory to the state.' Lycurgus sent this response to Sparta, determined himself never to return. He had now completed what he esteemed sufficient for his life. His death was wanting to bind his fellowcountrymen indissolubly to the observance of his institutions; and a statesman ought if possible, he thought, to make even his death beneficial to his country. Conformably to this doctrine, which was not only not alien from the spirit of the age, but consonant also to the stoic philosophy of aftertimes, he is said to have died by voluntary abstinence from nourishment. Different accounts are however given, both of the place and manner of his death. One tradition says that he lived to a good old age in Crete; and dying naturally, his body was burnt according to the practice of the age, and the relics, pursuant to his own request, scattered in the

Justin. l. iii.
c. 2.

* It is a remark of J. J. Rousseau, that the many plans of government proposed by speculative men, however excellent in theory, are generally slighted as mere visions, impossible to be reduced to practice: but, says the philosopher very justly, had Lycurgus been a legislator in speculation only, his scheme would have appeared much more visionary than Plato's.

CHAP. V. sea; left, if his bones or ashes had ever been carried to Sparta, the
 SECT. III. Lacedæmonians might have thought themselves freed from their ob-
 ~~~~~    ligation by oath to observe his laws.

### SECTION III.

*History of Messenia from the Return of the Heracleids, and of Lacedæmon from the Legislation of Lycurgus to the completion of the Conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians.*

IT was not long after the full establishment of Lycurgus's institutions before the increase of vigor to the Lacedæmonian state for external exertion, became as apparent as the internal change from boundless disorder to unexampled regularity. The Spartans exulted in their new-felt strength: the desire to exercise it grew irresistible; and they became early marked by their neighbours as a formidable people. Wars arose with all the bordering states; but those with Messenia, for the importance of their consequences, will principally demand attention.

MESSENA, as we have already observed, was the least mountainous, and the most generally fruitful province of Peloponnesus; but it seems never to have been blest with a government capable of securing to its inhabitants the advantages which the soil and climate offered. Cresphontes the Heracleid, we are told, endeavouring to support himself by the favor of the lower people against the arrogance of the leading men, an insurrection ensued, in which he was cut off with his family; one only son, Æpytus, escaping the massacre. This prince, however, ascended the throne; and so far acquired fame, that his descendants were from his name distinguished from the other branches of the Heracleids. But the Messenian history affords little interesting before the wars with Lacedæmon, which, with their consequences, form indeed almost the whole of it. Concerning those wars hardly any thing remains from the older Grecian writers. Herodotus seems oddly to avoid the mention of them. In a very late age Pausanias endeavoured to supply the deficiency; and he appears to have taken great pains, by

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Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 66.

Pausan. 1. iv.  
c. 3.

Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 66 & seq.

collating poems, and traditions preserved by prose-writers, with ancient genealogies, and temple records, to ascertain the principal circumstances of Messenian history. In many points he is confirmed by scattered passages of authors of high authority; and the consequences of the Messenian wars were so remarkable and so important, and remain so unquestionably ascertained, that Pausanias's account of the wars themselves will reasonably require some scope in a general history of Greece.

The assigned causes of the fatal quarrel are objects of notice, as they tend to mark the manners of the age. However the Greeks were politically divided, they always maintained a community in the concerns of religion. Some religious rites indeed were held peculiar to particular cities, and some even to particular families; but some were common to all of the same hord, Dorian, Ionian, Æolian, and some to the whole nation. There was at Limnæ, on the frontier of Messenia against Laconia, a temple dedicated to Diana; where Messenians and Lacedæmonians, both being of Dorian origin, equally resorted to sacrifice, and to partake of those periodical festivities which were usual at all the more celebrated Grecian temples. In a tumult at one of those festivals, Teleclus king of Sparta, son of Archelaus the contemporary of Lycurgus, was killed. The Lacedæmonians upon this occasion were loud in complaint that the Messenians had attempted to carry off some Spartan virgins, and that Teleclus received his death in defending them. The Messenians, on the contrary, averred that the treachery was on the part of the Lacedæmonians; that the pretended virgins were armed youths thus disguised with a purpose to assassinate the Messenian chiefs who attended the solemnity, and that Teleclus and his followers met a just fate in attempting to execute their execrable intention. On whichever side the truth lay, the Lacedæmonians checked their resentment till in the reigns of Alcamenes son of Teleclus, and Theopompus, grandson of Charilaus (for we have no dates of any authority for these events but what the genealogies of the Spartan kings furnish\*) other causes of quarrel

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Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 6 & al.Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 4.Pausan. ubi  
sup.  
Strabo, l. viii.  
p. 362.

\* Pausanias indeed says that Polychares, war, was victor in the fourth Olympiad. Pausan. l. iv. c. 4. We may believe that the name

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arose. Polychares, a Messenian of rank, put out by agreement some cattle, in which still consisted the principal riches of the times, under the care of herdsmen his own slaves, to pasture on the lands of Euæphnus, a Lacedæmonian; who sold both cattle and herdsmen, and pretended to Polychares that they had been carried off by pirates. The fraud was however discovered by one of the slaves; who, escaping from his purchaser, returned to his former master. Euæphnus, thus detected, promised an equivalent; and the son of Polychares was sent to receive it: but, instead of keeping his word, Euæphnus caused the young man to be assassinated. The father, upon this, full of grief and indignation, went himself to Sparta, and laid his complaint before kings and people: but finding no disposition to grant him any redress, he returned enraged to his own country, and retaliated by frequent assassination of the Lacedæmonian borderers. These outrages brought a deputation from Sparta to the Messenian state, to demand reparation. Two kings then reigned in Messenia: of these Androcles was inclined to give up Polychares rather than risk a war with Sparta. But Antiochus opposed a measure which he affirmed to be equally mean and unjust; and such was the imperfect and unsettled state of the Messenian government, that recourse was had to arms for deciding the dispute. Androcles and his principal partisans were killed, and Antiochus thus became sole king of Messenia.

*Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 5.*

The Lacedæmonians highly exasperated, and now without any view of peaceful redress, are said to have taken a measure not incredible of their age and circumstances, however impossible to have happened in such large kingdoms as have led the affairs of modern Europe. Without any of those formal declarations by heralds which the law of nations, even then among the Greeks, required as the forerunners of honorable war, they prepared secretly for hostilities; and so extreme was the animosity against the Messenians which then pervaded their

name of the victor in the fourth Olympiad was Polychares, and yet perhaps reasonably doubt if he was the person who caused the Messenian war, which, according to Newton's

chronology, must have begun near a century later, about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth Olympiad.

little



little state, an oath was universally taken, That no length of time should weary them, no magnitude of misfortune should deter them, but they would prosecute the war, and, it is added by some writers, would on no account return to their families till they had subdued Messenia. This violent resolution thus solemnly taken, Ampheia, a small town advantageously situated for covering the frontier, became their first object. A body of troops, led by their king Alcamenes, entered it by night, the gates being open and no guard kept, as no hostilities were apprehended. The place was taken with scarcely any resistance; and all the inhabitants, except a few who escaped by flight, were put to the sword.

Antiochus died, after having enjoyed but for a few months the monarchy of Messenia. He was succeeded by his son Euphaes. This prince prepared wisely to resist the storm which was bursting on his country. While he avoided battles with the Lacedæmonians, whose art of war and practised discipline gave them a decided superiority in the field, he provided so effectually for the defence of the Messenian towns, that every attempt of the enemy proved unsuccessful against them. Thus secure at home, he took opportunities occasionally to embark some chosen troops, and revenged the pillage committed in Messenia by similar depredations on the coast of Laconia. It was not till the fourth year of the war that he thought his people practised enough in arms to meet the Lacedæmonians in the field; and even then, resolved to put nothing to hazard, his aim was less to push for decisive victory, than to let it appear that, while watching opportunities, he could face the enemy without disadvantage. In the following year, however, the two armies came to a general engagement; and with a fury of which polished times, being without equal incentives, can furnish no example. ‘Recollect,’ said Euphaes, speaking to his troops, on the point of engaging, ‘it is not for your lands only, your goods, your wealth that you are going to fight. But you well know what will be your fate if vanquished: your wives and children will be slaves; and, for yourselves, death will be your fairest lot, if it

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Strabo, l. vi.

p. 279.

Pausan. l. iv.

c. 5.

Justin. l. iii.

c. 4.

Pausan. ubi  
sup.

Ol. xxxii. 1.

B. C. 652.

N.

Ol. ix. 2.

B. C. 743.

B.

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'comes without ignominy or torture. Ampheia may tell you this.' Night, however, stopped the battle; and next morning each army found itself so weakened by the numbers slain, that both shunned a renewal of the engagement.

Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 9.

But tho the trial of arms was thus equally maintained by the Messenians, yet their affairs were, in other points, declining greatly. The open country had been so long the spoil of the enemy, that the means of supporting themselves within their garrisons began to fail: their slaves deserted; and disease, the common consequence, especially in hot climates, of crowding together in towns persons accustomed to breathe the free air and eat the fresh food of the fields, made havoc among them. New measures became necessary. They drew their people from all their inland posts to Ithome, a strong situation near the coast; which they preferred, because, the Lacedæmonians having no naval force, it would always be open to supplies by sea. Inlarging this place sufficiently to receive its new inhabitants, they added at the same time to its extraordinary natural strength everything of which their skill in fortification was capable. While these works were going forward, their doubts and fears directed them farther, to the common resource of desponding states, to ask advice of the Delphian oracle how the blessing of the gods might be obtained to their endeavours. The answer might perhaps justify a suspicion that the Delphian priests were on this occasion corrupted by the Lacedæmonians; for it was perfectly adapted to produce discord and confusion in Messenia. The Pythones declared, that a virgin of the blood of Æpytus must be sacrificed to the infernal deities. The consequences were no other than might be expected from an absurd and cruel superstition. The lot was cast, and fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus. But a priest, gained by the father, declared that the daughter was supposititious, and therefore not known to be of the blood required by the gods. Lyciscus however, still fearing for his child, took the opportunity afforded by the doubts and confusion which the priest's declaration had occasioned, to carry her off, and he deserted with her to Sparta. Double confusion, doubt,  
and

and dependency now took possession of the Messenian council; when Aristodemus, a man in whom superstition or ambition, or perhaps both together, had stifled paternal tenderness, voluntarily offered his own daughter for the victim. But here other obstacles occurred. The virgin was betrothed to a young Messenian of highest rank and estimation; who, shocked with the suddenness of the father's dreadful purpose, insisted vehemently that his daughter was not at his disposal, but belonged to him to whom she was betrothed, and whose wife she was on the point of becoming. This, however, not availing, the young man, agonizing with the thought of thus tragically losing his beloved bride, averred that the daughter of Aristodemus could not satisfy the requisition of the gods, for she was no virgin, being already with child by him. Insult thus added to opposition enraged Aristodemus to madness: the savage slew his daughter with his own hand; and, to vindicate the honor of his family by demonstration of the falsehood of the lover's assertion, caused the body to be dissected. The priests now demanded another virgin, the deceased not having been regularly sacrificed. But the wiser Euphaes, finding himself strongly supported by the Æpytidian families, who were numerous and powerful, persuaded the people that the command of the oracle was sufficiently performed, and no more blood required by the gods.

The horrid deed of Aristodemus is however said so far to have served his country, that the fame of the oracle, and of the obedience paid to it, threw some diffidence into the minds of the Lacedæmonians; inasmuch that for five years the war was almost intermitted. But in the sixth another great effort was made. Theopompus led an army toward Ithome; and Euphaes now, trusting in the practised valor of his people, or perhaps still more dreading the consequences of confining them in garrison, marched to meet him. A battle was again fought, in which, as in the former, great slaughter was made on both sides, without any decisive advantage to either: only that the brave and worthy Euphaes, anxious by his example to lead his people to victory, received a mortal wound. The ambition of Aristodemus

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now was gratified : Euphaes leaving no issue, he was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in preference to all others of Æpytidian race.

The known bravery and activity of this prince were such, that the Lacedæmonians derived little encouragement from the death of Euphaes; and their loss in the late battle was so great, that again, for four years, the operations of the war were confined to mere predatory incursions. This time was judiciously employed by the new Messenian king in strengthening his alliance with the Argians, Arcadians, and Sicyonians; inasmuch that when, in the fifth year of his reign, the Lacedæmonians marched all their forces against Ithome, he received powerful assistance from those states. A pitched battle was now again fought, in which the abilities of Aristodemus as commander in chief were not less conspicuous than his bravery had been when an inferior officer. The Lacedæmonian armies excelled in heavy-armed foot. The Messenians were superior in light troops, who used chiefly missile weapons. By a judicious disposition of these, supported by the determined bravery of his heavy phalanx, Aristodemus, after repeated and well varied efforts, succeeded in breaking the Spartan order of battle. Great numbers fell, both on the field and in the retreat. But, tho' victory was fairly on the side of the Messenians; yet the excellency of the Spartan discipline prevented a total rout. The Lacedæmonian chiefs, however, found it necessary to lead the shattered remains of their army immediately into Laconia.

Now the Lacedæmonians in their turn sent to Delphi to ask advice of the god. The Messenians, still more interested in the event, again did the same. Unintelligible responses were absurdly and childishly interpreted; and for some time there was an emulation between the two people in superstition rather than in arms. Remorse for his daughter's death in the mean time took possession of Aristodemus. We are not informed of any considerable subsequent misfortune public or private that had happened to him, when he killed himself on her tomb. The accounts indeed of the conclusion of this

war

war are extremely defective; they leave us almost wholly uninformed of the steps immediately leading to the catastrophe. The death of Aristodemus was probably among them; for we hear of no Messenian leader of eminent abilities after him. Spartan discipline and Spartan perseverance therefore at length prevailed. Ithome was besieged and taken. The inhabitants and garrison, pressed with extremity of famine, found opportunity to pass the Lacedæmonian lines, and fled, as every one formed hopes of safety and subsistence. Many had claims of hospitality at Argos, at Sicyon, and in the Arcadian towns; and to those places accordingly directed their steps upon this melancholy occasion. Those who had been admitted to the mysteries of Ceres, or could trace their pedigree to the sacred families of that goddess, found refuge at Eleusis. The miserable multitude, to whom no place of secure retreat occurred, scattered, some to find their former dwellings, others variously about the country. The Lacedæmonians, having destroyed Ithome to the foundation, proceeded to take possession of the other towns without opposition. They gave to the Asinæans, who had been lately expelled from their town and lands by the Argians, a tract on the Messenian coast, which to the days of Pausanias was still inhabited by their posterity. The other lands they left to the remaining Messenians; exacting from them, together with an oath of allegiance, half the produce as tribute. Thus was this important territory added to the dominion of Sparta.

Among the events of this war, one is related which bears a strange appearance to modern readers, and yet found credit with some of the most judicious ancient writers. Their accounts indeed differ: yet all are so far consonant to one another, to the manners and circumstances of the times, and to other authenticated events, that we cannot suppose them unfounded. The absence, we are told, of the Lacedæmonians from their homes, in consequence of the rash oath taken at the beginning of the war, was long supported by their wives with Spartan fortitude. But year elapsing after year, and Messenia

still

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Ol. xxxvii.

I.

B. C. 632.

N.

Ol. xiv. I.

B. C. 724.

B.

Pausan. l. iv.

c. 14.

Strabo, l. viii.

p. 373.

Pausan. l. iv.

c. 14.

Strabo, l. vi.

p. 278, 279.

Julian. l. iii.

c. 6.

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still unsubdued, the matrons at length sent to the army, representing the unequal terms on which the war was waged. The enemy, they observed, living with their families, new citizens were continually produced to supply the decay of nature, and the ravage of war: but the Spartan women had passed years in widowhood; and should the war continue, however victorious their arms, the state would be as effectually annihilated as it could be by a conquering enemy; for there would be no rising generation. The complaint was acknowledged to require serious consideration; but remedy appeared difficult without incurring the guilt of perjury, and thus drawing down the vengeance of the gods for that supposed of all crimes the most offensive to them. The difficulty was, however, not to Lacedæmonians what it would have been to any other people. It was determined that those who had arrived at the age for bearing arms since the commencement of the war, none of whom fortunately had taken the oath, should be sent home to cohabit promiscuously with the marriageable virgins; or, according to some authors, with all the women. The institutions of Lycurgus were effectual to conquer some of the strongest passions of human nature, yet they were not equal to the annihilation of all prejudice. When the war at length was happily terminated, and things at Lacedæmon resumed their wonted course, the innocent offspring of these irregular embraces were slighted by the other citizens. Being however not the less high-spirited for being less regularly born, some disturbance was apprehended from their uneasiness at the distinctions made to their disadvantage. It was therefore thought prudent to offer them means of establishing themselves without the bounds of Peloponnesus. They readily consented to emigrate; and under the conduct of Phalanthus, one of their own body, they founded the city of Tarentum in Italy.

During near forty years Messenia remained in quiet subjection. Those of its unfortunate people who submitted to the Lacedæmonian terms, chose the least among evils presenting themselves, and rested under their hard lot. But the succeeding generation, unexperienced in the

the calamities of war, unexperienced in the comparative strength of themselves and their conquerors, yet instigated by a share of that irresistible spirit of independency which at this time so remarkably pervaded Greece, and buoyed up by that hope of fortunate contingencies, so natural in adversity to generous minds, could not brook the comparison of their own circumstances with those of all other Greeks. Their subjection was indeed too severe and too humiliating to be by any possibility borne with satisfaction, yet not sufficiently depressing to insure the continuance of quiet submission. A leader therefore only was wanting of reputation to attract and concentrate the materials of the rising storm, and it would burst with energy. Such a leader appeared in Aristomenes, a youth whose high natural spirit was still elevated by the opinion of his descent from Hercules through a long race of Messenian kings. When therefore others were proposing a revolt, Aristomenes was foremost to act in it. Persons were sent privately to the former allies of the state, the Argians and Arcadians, to inquire what assistance might be expected from them. Very favorable promises being received, Aristomenes and his party immediately attacked a body of Lacedæmonians at Deræ. A very obstinate action ensued, which terminated without victory to either party: yet the Messenians were so satisfied with the behaviour of Aristomenes, that they would have raised him to the throne. He prudently refused that invidious honour, but accepted the office of commander in chief of the forces.

Ol. xliii. 2.  
B. C. 607.  
<sup>N.</sup>  
Ol. xxiii. 4.  
B. C. 685.  
<sup>B.</sup>

The first adventure related of this hero after his elevation sounds romantic; but the age was romantic, and his situation required no common conduct. Aristomenes well knew the power of superstitious fear among his cotemporaries, and he formed a project to serve his country through its operation. There was at Sparta a temple called the brazen house, dedicated to Minerva, and held in singular veneration. Aristomenes entered that city alone by night; which was not difficult, as there were neither walls nor watch, and the less dangerous as no Grecian towns were lighted, and the Lacedæmonian institutions

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institutions forbad to carry lights. Secure therefore in obscurity, he suspended against the brazen house a shield, with an inscription declaring that Aristomenes, from the spoils of Sparta, dedicated that shield to the goddesses. Nothing the early Greeks dreaded more than that their enemies should win from them the favor of a deity, under whose peculiar protection they imagined their state to have been placed by the piety of their forefathers. The Lacedæmonians were so alarmed, that they sent to inquire of the Delphian oracle what was to be done. The answer of the Pythonesse was well considered for the safety of the oracle's reputation, but rather embarrassing to the Lacedæmonians: it directed them to take an Athenian for their counsellor. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens. But here too some embarrassment arose: for the Athenians, far from desirous that the finest province of Peloponnesus should become for ever annexed to the dominion of Sparta, dared not yet directly oppose the oracle. They took therefore a middle way; and in obeying hoped to make their obedience useless. They sent a man named Tyrtaeus, who among the lowest of the people had exercised the profession of a schoolmaster; little known of course, but supposed of no abilities for any purpose of the Lacedæmonians, and lame of one leg. There is something in these circumstances so little consonant to modern history, that they are apt at first view to bear an appearance both of fable and of insignificancy. But they come so far authenticated to us, that it is impossible not to give them some credit. It was partly from the admired works of Tyrtaeus himself, fragments of which remain to us, that historians afterward collected their account of the Messenian affairs; and it is still common, we know, for circumstances in themselves the most trifling to have consequences the most important.

263. 2. The Messenian army was now reinforced by Argian, Arcadian, Sicyonian, and Eleian auxiliaries; and Messenian refugees from various foreign parts came in with eager zeal to attach themselves once more to the fortune of their former country. These combined forces met the



the Lacedæmonian army, which had received succour from Corinth only, at Caprusæma. The exertions of Aristomenes, in the battle which ensued, are said to have exceeded all belief of what one man could do. A complete victory was gained by the Messenians; with so terrible a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, that it was in consequence debated at Sparta whether a negociation for peace should not immediately be opened. On this occasion great effects are attributed to the poetry of Tyrteus, and probably not without foundation. We know that even in these cultivated times, and in the extensive states of modern Europe, a popular song can sometimes produce considerable consequences. Then it was a species of oratory suited beyond all other to the genius of the age. Tyrteus reanimated the drooping minds of the Spartan people. It was thought expedient to recruit the number of citizens, by enfranchising and associating some Helots. The measure was far from popular, but the poetry of Tyrteus persuaded the people to acquiesce; and it was determined still to prosecute the war with all possible vigour.

Aristomenes meanwhile was endeavouring to push the advantage he had gained. He did not venture a regular invasion of Laconia, but he carried the war thither by incursion. He surprised the town of Pharæ, bore away a considerable booty, and routed Anaxander king of Sparta, who had planted an ambush to intercept his return. In another irruption he took the town of Caryæ; and, among other plunder, led off a number of Spartan virgins, who had assembled there to celebrate, according to custom, the festival of Diana. Pausanias relates to his honor on this occasion a strong instance of the strictness both of his discipline and of his morality. On his appointment to the command in chief he had selected a band of young Messenians, mostly of rank, who attended him and fought by his side in all his enterprizes. The Spartan virgins taken at Caryæ being intrusted to a guard from this body, the young men, heated with wine, attempted to force their chastity. Aristomenes immediately interfered; but finding it in vain that he represented to them

F f

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how they dishonored the name of Grecians by attempts so abhorrent from what the laws and customs of their country approved, he laid the most refractory with his own hand dead upon the spot; after which he restored the girls to their parents. We have remarked on a former occasion how common rapes were in Greece. Law and order, we may suppose, had now made some progress since that period; yet scarcely such as generally to insure the chastity of women captives in war. But where the crime of ravishing is most common, the virtue which prompts to such dangerous exertion as that related of Aristomenes for the prevention of it will be most valued, will consequently become most an object of renown, and thence will more be caught at by aspiring minds.

Among the extraordinary adventures of our present hero we find it related that, in an attempt upon the town of Ægila, he was made prisoner by some Spartan matrons assembled there for the celebration of a festival; who, trained as they were under the institutions of Lycurgus, repelled the attack with a vigor which the men of other states could scarcely exceed. Here the softer passions, it is said, befriended him. Archidameia, priestess of Ceres, becoming enamored of him, procured his escape.

It was now the third year of the war, when the Lacedæmonian and Messenian forces met at Megaletaphrus; the latter strengthened by their Arcadian allies only, whose leader, Aristocrates prince of Orchomenus, was secretly in the Lacedæmonian interest. On the first onset this traitor gave the signal to his own troops for a retreat; which he artfully conducted so as to disturb the order also of the Messenian forces. The Lacedæmonians, prepared for this event, seized the opportunity to gain the flank of their enemy. Aristomenes made some vain efforts to prevent a rout: but his army was presently, for the most part, surrounded and cut to pieces; and he was himself fortunate in being able to make good his retreat with a miserable remnant.

The Messenians had not now the resources of an established government. A single defeat induced instant necessity for resorting to the measure

Pausan. l. iv.  
Strabo, l. viii.  
p. 362.  
Polyb. l. iv.

measure practised by Euphaes in the former war. Again quitting all their inland posts, they collected their force at Eira, a strong situation near the sea, and prepared by all means in their power for vigorous defence. The Lacedæmonians, as was foreseen, presently sat down before the place; but the Messenians were still strong enough to keep a communication open with their ports of Pylus and Methone\*.

The enterprising spirit of Aristomenes indeed was not to be broken by misfortune. Even in the present calamitous situation of his country's affairs, he would not confine himself to defensive war. With his chosen band he made eruptions from Eira, pillaged all the neighbouring country on the side occupied by the Lacedæmonians, and even ventured into Laconia, where he plundered the town of Amyclæe. His expeditions were so well concerted, and his band so small and so light, that he was generally within the walls of Eira again before it was known in the Spartan camp that any place was attacked. The business of a siege commonly in those times was extremely slow. The usual hope of the besiegers was to reduce the place by famine. But this was now a vain hope to the Lacedæmonians while Aristomenes could thus supply the garrison. The government of Sparta therefore, finding their army ineffectual to prevent this relief, proceeded to the extremity of forbidding by a public edict all culture of the conquered part of Messenia. Probably the Lacedæmonian affairs were at this time ill administered both in the army and at home. Great discontents we are told broke out at Sparta; and the government was again beholden to the lame Athenian poet for composing the minds of the people.

But the temper of Aristomenes was too daring, and his enterprizes too hazardous, to be long exempt from misfortune. His scene of action was not extensive, so that in time the Lacedæmonians neces-

\* Pausanias writes this name Mothone, and among the Greeks it so remains to this day; but the Italians, unable to pronounce the Greek θ, speak and write it Modona: the French for the same reason call it Modon. The

Italian name of Pylus is Navarino. This was, according to Strabo, not the residence of Nestor, that city being situated more northward, not far from the river Alpheius.

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Pausan. l. iv.  
Strabo, l. viii.  
p. 367.

farily learnt by their very losses the means of putting a stop to them. He fell in unexpectedly with a large body of Lacedæmonian troops, headed by both the kings. His retreat was intercepted; and in making an obstinate defence, being stunned by a blow on the head, he was taken prisoner with about fifty of his band. The Lacedæmonians, considering all as rebels, condemned them without distinction to be precipitated into a cavern called Cæda, the common capital punishment at Sparta for the worst malefactors. All are said to have been killed by the fall except Aristomenes; whose survival was thought so wonderful that miracles have been invented to account for it. An eagle, it is reported, fluttering under him, so far supported him that he arrived at the bottom unhurt. How far such miraculous assistance was necessary to his preservation we cannot certainly know; but the plain circumstances of the story, tho extraordinary, have, as far as appears, nothing contrary to nature. Aristomenes at first thought it no advantage to find himself alive in that dark and horrid chanel, surrounded by his companions dead and dying, among the skeletons and putrid carcases of former criminals. He retreated to the farthest corner that he could find, and, covering his head with his cloak, lay down to wait for death, which seemed unavoidable. It was, according to Pausanias, the third day of this dreadful imprisonment when he was startled by a little rustling noise. Rising and uncovering his eyes, he saw by the glimmering of light, which assisted him the more from his having been so long wrapt in perfect darkness, a fox gnawing the dead bodies. It presently struck him that this animal must have found some other way into the cavern than that by which himself had descended, and would readily find the same way out again. Watching therefore his opportunity, he was fortunate enough to seize the fox with one hand, while with his cloak in the other he prevented it from biting him; and he managed so as to let it have its way, without escaping, so that it conducted him to a narrow bury. Through this he followed till it became too small for his body to pass; and here fortunately a glimpse of daylight caught his eye. Setting

ting therefore his conductor at liberty, he worked with his hands till he made a passage large enough for himself to creep into day, and he escaped to Eira.

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The first rumor of this reappearance of Aristomenes found no credit at Sparta. Preparations were making for pushing the siege of Eira with vigor, and a body of Corinthian auxiliaries was marching to share in the honor of completing the conquest of Messenia. Aristomenes, receiving intelligence that the Corinthians marched and encamped very negligently as if they had no enemy to fear, issued with a chosen body from Eira, attacked them by surprise in the night, routed them with great slaughter, and carried off the plunder of their camp. Now, says Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians readily believed that Aristomenes was really living. Tradition says that this extraordinary warrior thrice sacrificed the Hecatomphonia, the offering prescribed among the Greeks for those who had slain in battle a hundred enemies with their own hands. It was after this action that he performed that ceremony the second time.

The Lacedæmonians now, for the sake of celebrating in security their festival called Hyacinthia, which was approaching, consented to a truce for forty days. Pausanias, who is not favorable to their fame, reports that they encouraged some Cretan mercenaries in their service to watch opportunities for striking a blow against the Messenians, even during the truce; that Aristomenes was actually seized in consequence; and recovered his liberty only through the favor of a young woman in the house where he was lodged, who cut his bonds, and procured him the means of slaying his keepers.

Through the unskilfulness of the age in the attack of places, and the varied efforts of Aristomenes's genius to baffle the besiegers, the siege, or rather blockade, of Eira was protracted to the eleventh year. A concurrence of circumstances, seemingly trifling, but which in the detail of them by Pausanias form an important lesson for military men, at length decided its fate. In a violently tempestuous night intelligence was brought to the Lacedæmonian commander, by a private

Ol. xlviii.  
2.  
B. C. 587.  
N.  
Ol. xxvii. 2.  
B. C. 671.  
E.

foldier

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foldier whom an intrigue with a Messenian woman had led to the discovery, that the Messenian guard at one of their posts, yielding to the weather, and trusting that the storm itself would prevent their enemies from acting, had dispersed to seek shelter. Immediately the troops were silently called to arms; ladders were carried to the spot, and the Lacedæmonians mounted unresisted. The unusually earnest and incessant barking of their dogs first alarmed the garrison. Aristomenes, always watchful, hastily formed the first of his people that he could collect. He presently met the enemy, and managed his defence so judiciously as well as vigorously, that the Lacedæmonians, ignorant of the town, could not during the night attempt any farther progress. But neither could Aristomenes attempt more than to keep the enemy at bay, while the rest of his people, arming and forming themselves, made use of their intimate knowledge of the place to occupy the most advantageous points for defending themselves, and dislodging the enemy. At daybreak, having disposed his whole force, and directed even the women to assist by throwing stones and tiles from the house-tops, he made a furious charge upon the Lacedæmonians; whose superiority in number availed little, as they had not room to extend their front. But the violence of the storm, which continued unabated, was such as to prevent the women from acting on the roofs; many of whom were however animated with such a manly resolution for the defence of their country, that they took arms and joined in the fight below. There the battle continued all day, with scarcely other effect than mutual slaughter. At night there was again a pause; but it was such as allowed little rest or refreshment to the Messenians. Now the Lacedæmonian general profited from his numbers. He sent half his forces to their camp, while with the other half he kept the Messenians in constant alarm, and with the return of day he brought back his refreshed troops to renew the attack. The Messenian chiefs became soon convinced that all attempts to expel the enemy must be vain. After a short consultation therefore, they formed their people in the most convenient order for defending



sending their wives and children and most portable effects, while they forced their way out of the place. The Lacedæmonians, whose political institutions in some degree commanded the permission of escape for a flying enemy, gave them free passage. The Messenians directed their melancholy march to Arcadia. There they were most hospitably received by their faithful allies of that country, who divided them in quarters among their towns.

Even in this extremity of misfortune, the enterprising genius of Aristomenes was immediately imagining new schemes for restoring his country, and taking vengeance on her enemies. He selected five hundred Messenians, to whom three hundred Arcadian volunteers joined themselves, with a resolution to attempt the surprize of Sparta itself, while the Lacedæmonian army was yet in the farthest part of Messenia, where Pylus and Methone still remained to be conquered. Everything was prepared for the enterprize, when some of the Arcadian chiefs received intelligence that a messenger was gone from their king Aristocrates to Sparta. They caused this man to be waylaid on his return. He was seized; and letters were found upon him, thanking Aristocrates for information of the expedition now intended, as well as for his former services. An assembly of the people was immediately summoned, in which the letters and their bearer were produced; and the leaders, in the interest opposite to Aristocrates, worked up the anger of the commonalty to such a pitch against their treacherous prince, that they stoned him to death. To perpetuate his infamy a pillar was afterward erected, with an inscription, still preserved in the writings both of Pausanias and Polybius, warning future chiefs of the vengeance of the deity, which unfailingly sooner or later overtakes traitors and perjurers.

The Pylians, Methoneans, and other Messenians of the coast, judging it now vain to attempt the defence of their towns, embarked with their effects in what vessels they could collect, and sailed to Cyllene, a port of Eleia. Hence they sent a proposal to their fellowcountrymen in Arcadia, to go all together and settle a colony

Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 22.  
Polyb. l. iv.  
p. 391.  
Plutarch. de  
fera Num.  
Vind.

CHAP. V. lonv wherever they could find an advantageous establishment; and they  
 SECT. III. desired Aristomenes for their leader. The proposal was readily accepted  
 by the people, and, as far as concerned them, approved by the general; but, excusing himself, he sent his son Gorgus with Mantichus, son of the prophet Theocles who had been his constant friend and companion, to conduct the enterprize. Still it remained to be decided to what uninhabited or ill-inhabited coast they should direct their course. Some were for Zacynthus, some for Sardinia; but winter being already set in, it was soon agreed to put off the determination till spring. In the interval a fortunate occurrence offered. On the taking of Ithome in the former war, some Messenians, joining with some adventurers from Chalcis in Eubœa, had wandered to Italy, and there founded the town of Rhegium. These colonists had perpetual variance with the Zancleans on the opposite coast of Sicily; a people also of Grecian origin, the first of whom were pirates, who settled there under Cratæmenes of Samos, and Perieres of Chalcis. Anaxilas, now prince of Rhegium, was of Messenian race. Hearing therefore of this second catastrophe of his mother-country, he sent to inform the Messenians at Cyllene that there was in his neighbourhood a valuable territory, and a town most commodiously situated, which should be theirs if they would assist him in dispossessing the present proprietors, his inveterate enemies. The offer was accepted: the confederates, victorious by sea and land, besieged Zancle; and reducing the inhabitants to extremity, an accommodation was agreed upon, by which it was determined that the Messenians and Zancleans should hold the city and country in common as one people, but that the name should be changed to Messène. Thus the Messenians obtained a settlement from which, howsoever in the course of ages variously subjected, they have never been expelled; and the city, among many great misfortunes, generally flourishing, retains the very name, in the Latin orthography, Messina, to this day. How far the late dreadful convulsion of the elements, involving in common desolation Messina with its ancient rival Reggio, and violently changing the face of nature to a great extent on both coasts, may beyond all former calamities

Strabo, l. vi.  
 p. 257 & 268.  
 Pausan. l. iv.  
 c. 23.

Ol. xliiii. 3.  
 B. C. 588.  
<sup>N.</sup>  
 Ol. xxvii.  
 4.  
 B. C. 669.  
<sup>B.</sup>



lamities urge its final downfall, will be for the historian of future years to tell.

Aristomenes for some time still indulged the hope, through some favoring contingency, to avenge his country on the Lacedæmonians. But going to Delphi, he found the Pythonefs too wise to prophesy him any encouragement. Yet tho he was no longer to shine in a public situation, fortune was favorable to his private happiness. Damagetus, prince, or, as he is stiled by Grecian writers, tyrant of Ialysus in the island of Rhodes, happened to be at Delphi inquiring of the oracle whom he should marry: for it seems to have been about this time that Delphi was in highest repute; individuals often straining their circumstances to obtain its advice on their more interesting private concerns. To a question in its nature rather puzzling, the Pythonefs gave a very prudent answer, and at the same time of uncommonly obvious interpretation. She directed Damagetus to take the daughter of the man of highest character among the Greeks. Aristomenes, then on the spot, was unquestionably in reputation the first of the Greeks, and he had a daughter unmarried. Damagetus therefore made his proposals, which were accepted; and Aristomenes passed with him to Rhodes, where he is said to have spent the rest of his life in honorable ease.

The Lacedæmonians now found themselves masters of a country almost a desert. The Asinæans, indeed, whom on the conclusion of the former war they had planted in Messenia, still retained their settlement. The Nauplians had now lately been ejected from their country by the Argians. To these fugitives the Lacedæmonians gave the town and territory of Methone. The rest of Messenia they divided among themselves; and many of the miserable inhabitants, who had been either unable or unwilling to seek their fortune out of their native country, they reduced to the condition of Helots.

Here we might naturally suppose the history of Messenia ended. But we shall in the sequel find its unfortunate people, still as the people of Messenia, taking part occasionally in Grecian affairs, and at

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Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 23, 24.

Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 24.  
Strabo, l. viii.  
p. 373.

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length, after more than a century and a half, by a very extraordinary revolution, recovering possession of their original country.

During the long course of years from the first hostilities with Messenia to the completion of the conquest of that country, Lacedæmon was not without wars with other neighbouring states, nor without political convulsions at home: but the chronology of that period is so utterly uncertain, that it were a vain attempt to arrange the facts reported in scattered passages by ancient authors of best credit. Very early, we are told, a dispute arose concerning the limits of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians ejected the Argians from Cynuria. Then they asserted with similar violence a claim to the territory of Thyrea. In the old age of king Theopompus, according to Pausanias (therefore between the first and second Messenian wars, tho Herodotus seems to refer it to a later date) the armies of the two states meeting, it was determined, at a conference of the leaders, that the right to the lands in dispute should be decided by an engagement between three hundred men from each army. The rest of the troops on both sides retired. The six hundred fought with such determined valor, and such equal strength and skill, that two Argians only, Chromius and Alcenor, remained alive; with not a single Lacedæmonian, as far as in the dusk of advanced evening they could perceive, surviving to oppose them. Eager therefore to relate their victory, they hastened to the Argian camp. But during the night Othryades, a Lacedæmonian, recovering from the loss of blood under which he had fainted, found himself, weak as he was, undisputed master of the field. His strength sufficed to form a trophy from the arms of his slain enemies, and he rested on the spot. On the morrow the Argians learned with astonishment that the Lacedæmonians claimed the victory. Another conference was held in which neither side would yield its pretensions. The armies again met; and, after a most obstinate conflict, the Argians were defeated. The measure which followed, reported by Herodotus, and confirmed by Plato, strongly characterizes both the spirit of war and the spirit of

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Pausan. 1. x.  
c. 9.  
Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 82.  
Plutarch.  
Parall. Min.

Plato. Phædon. p. 89.  
t. i.

government of the times. The whole Argian people having cut off their hair (a common mark of public mourning) it was decreed, with solemn curses against transgressors, that 'no man should suffer his hair to grow, and no woman wear ornaments of gold, till Thyrea was recovered.' The animosity which we shall find long subsisting between Lacedæmon and Argos will, with the recollection of these circumstances, not appear extraordinary.

The Lacedæmonians had also early and long contentions with the Arcadians. These allied themselves with the Argians; with whose assistance the city of Tegea, formed, as we have before observed, by an assemblage of the inhabitants of nine villages, was fortified, and became capable of protecting the Arcadian borderers against the Lacedæmonian inroads. None of the neighbouring people in the earlier times opposed Spartan incroachments with more valor, and none with such success, as the Tegeans. After often suffering considerable losses, the Lacedæmonians however at length gained some advantages; and the circumstances of the times induced that politic people to use the opportunity for forming a close alliance with the brave mountaineers; who in the sequel proved highly serviceable to them in their more extensive views of ambition.

As it is in the nature of human affairs that things most advantageous shall have their inherent evils, so the nice balance established by the Spartan lawgiver between the several powers of the government naturally produced a constant, and often violent struggle of factions. But as the Lacedæmonian institutions were unfavorable to literature, as they strongly enforced secrecy on politics, and as foreigners had little access to Sparta, we are very defectively informed of the internal transactions of that state. Authors of greatest credit are not to be reconciled concerning the first establishment of those magistrates called Ephors, who in course of time acquired almost a despotic authority. Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon refer it to Lycurgus: Aristotle, Plutarch and others, to king Theopompus, who completed the first conquest of Messenia. If magistrates with such a title

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Sect. I.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 65.

Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 18.  
Lycrat. Pa-  
nathen.

Herodot. l. i.  
c.  
Plato. Epist.  
viii. p. 354.  
t. iii.  
Xenoph. de  
Rep. Lac.  
Arist. Polit.  
Plutarch.  
Lycurg.

CHAP. V.  
SECT. III.Plutarch.  
Apoph. Lac.Aristot. Polit.  
l. ii. c. 9.  
Plutarch. Lyc-  
urg. & Age-  
sil. & Cleo-  
men.

were appointed by Lycurgus, the tenor of that lawgiver's institutions will yet not permit us to suppose that he meant to allow them powers such as they afterward exercised. He certainly favored oligarchy; and possibly the large authority which he committed to the senate might sometimes be abused. But from the consent of Grecian writers it appears, that if the ephors were not first appointed under Theopompus, their powers and privileges were however considerably augmented under his reign. That prince either found it necessary for the prevention of commotion to grant indulgence to the people; or convenient for his own power to raise an authority capable of balancing the overbearing spirit of the senate; whence, perhaps, the saying reported of him, on being reproached for transmitting the regal authority diminished to his posterity, 'that on the contrary he should transmit it increased, inasmuch as he should transmit it firmer' \*. The ephors were five in number, elected from the people and by the people; and the purpose of their office was at first merely to preserve to the people their constitutional rights against any attempts of the kings or senate. The tribunes of Rome afterward, in the cause of their appointment, in the purpose of their office, in their original powers and privileges, and in what they by degrees assumed, very remarkably resembled the Spartan ephors; and the history of both goes strongly to prove the inherent impotence of the ancient democracy, which, in two of the best constituted commonwealths of antiquity, unable to maintain its own rights, was reduced to the absurd necessity of creating and supporting a tyrannical magistracy to defend them.

\* To such a balance Plato seems to refer Ephors *Φάμενον τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντίστοιχον* where he calls the senate and the college of Epit. viii. p. 354. t. iii.

## CHAPTER VI.

Summary View of the State of the Northern Provinces of GREECE, and of the Establishment of the early GRECIAN Colonies; with the History of ATHENS from the TROJAN War to the first public Transaction with PERSIA.

## SECTION I.

*View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece after the Trojan War. History of Athens from the Trojan War to the Abolition of Royalty, and the Appointment of Hereditary Archons.*

WHILE Lacedæmon, partly through the internal vigor of its singular constitution, partly by conquest, was raising itself to a preëminence among the Grecian states, which, since the expulsion of the princes of the house of Pelops from the throne of Argos, none had obtained, a rival power of very different character and very different institutions was more silently growing without Peloponnesus. But the divisions, whence arose the weakness and insignificance of the other Grecian people, were among the circumstances principally contributing to set Lacedæmon and Athens at the head of the nation. During some centuries after the Trojan war we have no history of the northern provinces, beyond confused accounts of migrations and expulsions, which were frequent, and predatory wars, which were almost unceasing. The principal revolution of which we are informed was that effected by the Bœotians, a Thessalian people; who, according to Thucydides, about sixty years after the Trojan war, migrating southward, joined some of their own tribe before settled in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and, overpowering the Cadmeians, became masters of the whole province, from themselves called ΒΕΟΤΙΑ. Thebes, which, apparently from Homer, had been much reduced by  
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CHAP. VI.  
SECT. I.



Thucyd. i. i.  
c. 12.

Schol. ad  
v. 505. l. ii.  
Iliad.

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the wars preceding the Trojan times, became the principal seat of the Bæotians; and under them recovered some share of its ancient importance. But the history of Bæotia, to a late period, remarkably verifies an observation of the great poet upon its circumstances at a very early day, 'that none could live there without the protection of fortifications'\*. While therefore unceasing danger made the whole people necessarily military, republican jealousy, which obtained early among the Bæotians, added to the other circumstances of the times, would urge every township the more anxiously to provide within itself for its own defence. Depending then upon no others for protection, the inhabitants would of course take upon themselves legislation, and every power of government. Thus Greece, under its ancient princes divided into many small states, became, under republican government, still much more subdivided. The Bæotians always considered themselves in some measure as one people, distinct from the other Greeks: they were not without common laws; and they had even common magistrates, called Bæotarchs, to preside over the concerns of the Bæotian nation. But the authority of those officers was principally military. Every considerable town of Bæotia claimed always to be an independent republic, united only by voluntary league with the rest, and competent to decide for itself concerning all its foreign interests as well as its internal government. The other provinces north of Peloponnesus were not in better state for advancement in civilization or in political consequence. The THESSALIANS, who might otherwise have been the most powerful people of Greece, were much divided; and those of the southern border were continually engaged in predatory war with the Phocians, their neighbours on the southern side of mount Cæta, whence the bitterest national animosity arose between the two people.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 27 & seq.

We have already observed the favorable circumstances by which ATHENS became early populous and polished beyond the other Gre-

\* Mentioning the building of the walls of Thebes by Zethus and Amphion, he adds:

— Ἐπὶ δὲ μὲν ἀπὸ γυναικῶν  
Ναΐδων ἐγὼ γὰρ Θέτιον, καὶ τὴν Περικλῆν.

Odyss. l. xi. v. 264.

cian cities. From the time of the Trojan war till after the Dorian conquests in Peloponnesus, it affords nothing important for history. But such a revolution as that effected by the Heracleids could not be without material consequences to a neighbouring state. The Athenian territory at that time extended to the Corinthian isthmus; where, to mark the limits, a pillar had been erected, on one side of which was engraved 'This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia,' for so Attica was then called: on the other side 'This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia.' But the people of the peninsula itself, through the province that stretches along the coast westward from the isthmus, were of Ionian race. When Tisamenus, with his Achaian followers from Argos and Lacedæmon, had procured security to this country against the Heracleids, its narrow bounds were found unequal to the increased population: the new comers prevailed against the ancient possessors, and the Ionian families were mostly compelled to migrate. Athens, always hospitable to the unfortunate, amid these extensive troubles through Peloponnesus would abundantly attract refugees. Not only the Ægialian Ionians but many Messenians also, under Melanthus king of Pylos, resorted thither. The Athenians were then engaged in war with Bœotia; and on this account, and perhaps through some dread also of the conquering Dorians, were the more solicitous to accommodate all that offered, as an addition of strength to the state. The charity was accordingly not unproductive of reciprocal benefit. For the armies of Athens and Bœotia meeting, the Bœotian king proposed to decide the matter in dispute between the two states by single combat between himself and Thymætes, then king of Athens. Thymætes, probably knowing himself inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the challenge. But the temper of the times was favorable to that mode of deciding political controversies\*. Melanthus therefore, the Messenian prince, who had his fortune to seek, offered himself for champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he

Strabo, l. ix.  
p. 392.

Strabo, l. ix.  
p. 393. &  
l. xiv. p. 633.

Strabo, l. ix.  
p. 393.  
Herodot. l. v.  
c. 65.  
Pausan. l. ii.  
c. 18.

\* In the return of the Heracleids, according to Strabo, the possession of Elcia was so determined *κατὰ ἑλκός τι παλαιὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. Strabo, l. viii. p. 357.

CHAP. VI.  
SECT. I.

was victorious, and the scepter of Athens was his reward. Thymotes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Theseus.

Tradition is little accurate concerning a war which followed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But a conquering people is commonly an overbearing people; the protection given by Athens to the refugees from Peloponnesus would afford pretence; and the Dorians, we find, soon after their establishment in the peninsula, made incroachments on the Athenian frontier, and founded the town of

Strabo, l. ix.  
P. 393.

Megara on the northern coast of the Saronic gulph. When Codrus succeeded his father Melanthus in the kingdom of Attica, Megara seems to have been already firmly settled. Hostilities however continued, or were recommenced; and so large assistance came to the Me-

B. C. 804.  
N.

B. C. 1070.  
B.

Pausan. l. vii.  
c. 25.  
Vell. Patere.  
l. i. c. 2.  
Justin. l. ii.  
c. 6.

garians from Peloponnesus, that Athens itself was threatened with subversion. While the hostile armies were incamped so near together that a battle appeared unavoidable, the Delphian oracle was consulted about the event. The answer of the Pythones was understood to import that the Peloponnesians would be victorious, provided they did not kill the Athenian king. This response being promulgated, Codrus, in the heroic spirit of the age, determined to devote his life for the good of his country. Disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, with a faggot on his shoulder, and a hook in his hand, he entered the enemy's camp. Observing in one part a croud of soldiers, he pushed in among them; words arose; he struck a soldier with his hook; the soldier retorted with his sword, and Codrus was killed. Inquiry being presently made about the tumult, the body was found to be that of the king of Athens; upon which the Peloponnesian chiefs, dreading the accomplishment of the oracle to their overthrow, hastily withdrew their forces into Peloponnesus. A peace with Megara seems to have followed\*.

\* The spot where Codrus was killed was preserved in memory, or pretended to be preserved, in the time of Pausanias, and shown near the altar of the Muses on the bank of the Ilissus.



The death of Codrus, while it thus fortunately delivered Athens from the dangers of foreign war, was the immediate cause of internal sedition, threatening nearly equal evils. Medon, eldest son of Codrus, was lame; and bodily ability still held that high rank in popular estimation, that his younger brother made advantage of this defect to dispute the succession with him. Each found strong support: but the dispute brought forward a third party still stronger, which was for excluding both, declaring they would have no king but Jupiter. The most fatal consequences were to be apprehended, when fortunately a declaration of the Delphian oracle was procured in favor of Medon, and the business was amicably accommodated. It was determined that, after Codrus, who had merited so singularly of his country, none ought to be honored with a title of which it was impossible for any living man to be comparatively worthy: that however Medon should be first magistrate of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, chief, or prince; and that this honor should remain hereditary in his family; but that the Archon should be accountable to the assembly of the people for due administration of his high office. And as Attica then, through the multitude of refugees, overabounded with inhabitants, it was agreed that a colony should be sent to Asia Minor, of which Neleus and Androclus, younger sons of Codrus, should be leaders. Thus was internal quiet restored to Athens as happily as external peace. The restless spirits mostly joined in the migration; the storm of contending factions dispersed; and the affairs of the commonwealth flowed so smoothly for some generations after, that no materials for history remain.

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SECT. I.

Pausan. l. vii.  
c. 2.Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 97.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 632, 633,  
& 640.  
Pausan. l. vii.  
c. 2.

Ilissus, opposite to the temple of Diana Agro- ney into Greece. Stuart's Antiquities of  
tera, whose ruins yet remain on the other bank. Athens.  
Pausan. l. i. c. 19. Sir Geo. Wheeler's Jour-

## SECTION II.

*Of the Æolic and Ionic Migrations, and of the Establishment of Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, and Italy.*

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SECT. II.

Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 4 & 8.  
Herodot. l. i.  
c. 171.  
Strabo, l. xii.  
p. 572. & l.  
xiv. p. 661.

Strabo, l. x.  
p. 447, 448.

WHILE Athens thus was enjoying repose, and the ambition of Lacedæmon was yet confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, the theater of Grecian action, or, we may say, Greece itself, was expanding very greatly through those numerous colonies which were poured forth in every direction. Of the Grecian islands Crete almost alone has occurred hitherto as an object of history. The other islands of the Ægean were anciently, and perhaps originally, held, some by Phenicians, but most by the people called Leleges, who, as well as the Phenicians, exercised continual piracy. Minos king of Crete expelled both, and planted colonies of his own people in their room. Afterward the power of the Cretan kings decaying, some of those islands became independent, and others fell under different dominions. Eubœa, one of the largest and most valuable in the Grecian seas, was probably never under the dominion of the Cretan kings, and indeed was scarcely in the circumstances of an island, being separated from the coast of Bœotia by a channel so narrow and shallow that it is in effect an adjoining peninsula. While the Ionic Pelasgians of Attica spread southward into Peloponnesus, they had also extended their settlements northward into this island, where Chalcis and Eretria are said to have been Athenian colonies before the Trojan war. These two cities, tho' distinct governments, yet maintained such close alliance as to form almost one state, and became very flourishing. They held the neighbouring islands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos in subjection: they extended the Grecian name northward by planting the peninsulas of Pallene and Athos, together with the territory around Olynthus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; and they established colonies in Italy and Sicily.

It

It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently without good grounds, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from Greece to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little in origin or in language from the inhabitants of Greece; and some of the towns on the coast were held by people so unquestionably Grecian, at so early a period, that the antiquarians of aftertimes, unwilling to allow anything to be Greek that did not originate from Greece, were at a loss to account for their establishment. Miletus, mentioned by Homer in his catalogue, and Teos, and Smyrna, are said by Strabo to have been Grecian towns before the Trojan war. But the great Æolic and Ionic migrations made a complete revolution in the state of that fine country, and gave it almost intirely a new people. Of those extraordinary and important events no ancient author has left any complete account. It must therefore be endeavoured to connect the scattered information remaining from writers of best authority, among whom Strabo will be our principal guide.

The ÆOLIC MIGRATION was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. Penthilus, one of the sons of Orestes, took refuge upon that occasion in Eubœa, whither multitudes of Peloponnesians followed. Many of these found settlements there; but the larger number, joined by a powerful body of Bœotians, passed with their prince into Thrace. He dying, his son Echelatus led the colony across the Hellespont, and made himself master of Troy; putting then, it is supposed, a final period to that unfortunate city and to the name of its people. In the mean time Cleues and Malaus, also of the race of Agamemnon, had assembled a number of Peloponnesian fugitives on mount Phricus in Locris, near Thermopylæ; and passing thence to Asia Minor, founded the town of Cuma. Thus the whole coast from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, together with the island of Lesbos, conquered by Graüs, son of Echelatus, became settled by Peloponnesians and Bœotians, and received the name of Æolis or Æolia.

CHAP. VI.  
SECT. II.

Wood on Homer.

Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 573. 633.  
& 634.  
Pausan. l. vii.  
c. 2.

Strabo, l. iv.  
p. 492. l. x.  
p. 447. l. xiii.  
p. 582.  
Pausan. l. ii.  
c. 2.

Wood on  
Homer.  
Strabo, l. xiii.  
p. 582.

Strabo, l. xiii.  
p. 586.

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## SECT. II.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 97.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 632, 633.  
Pausan. l. vii.  
c. 2.  
Ælian. Var.  
Hist. l. viii.  
c. 5.

The great IONIC MIGRATION took place somewhat later, but produced colonies yet more flourishing. It was led from Athens by Neleus and Androclus younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion, already mentioned, of the determination of the succession to the archonship in favor of Medon. A great multitude followed; many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which the Dorian conquest had driven for refuge to Athens. They seized the whole coast of Asia Minor, from the river Hermus southward to the headland of Posideion, together with the valuable islands of Chios and Samos; expelling the Carian inhabitants, but associating the Greeks: and they founded twelve cities which became all very considerable. These were Ephesus, Miletus, Myus, Lebedos, Colophon, Priene, Teos, Erythræ, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterward added Smyrna, acquired from the Æolians. These cities had their separate governments, yet maintained some political connection, and held occasionally a general council which was called Panionium. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Asia Minor, scarcely anywhere perhaps extending forty miles from the coast up the country, was however in length, from the north of Æolis to the south of Ionia, near four hundred.

But the Greeks acquired settlements southward of this tract, within the bounds of that corner of Asia which the great migrations had left to the Carians, genuine descendants of the Leleges, and which retained the name of Caria. Here the Træzenians founded Halicarnassus, which became much more considerable than the parent city. The adjacent island of Rhodes had been very early occupied by people of Grecian race, some from Crete, it is said, some from Thessaly: and Homer relates, that Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, carried a colony thither from Argos, and afterward joined in the expedition against Troy. The great poet celebrates the power and wealth of Rhodes. In his time it was divided between three independent states, which were not till some centuries after united, when the city of Rhodes was built in a very advantageous situation

for

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 171.  
Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 99.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 656.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 653.  
Iliad. l. ii.  
v. 674.

for a common capital of the island. A happy system of government prevailed: people of higher rank alone directed public affairs, but provision was made for the welfare and security of all \*. Hence Rhodes long flourished in commerce, arts, and arms, and extended its dominion over a considerable territory upon the neighbouring continent. The Halicarnassians on the contrary held Cos, with some smaller islands, in subjection. Rhodes and Halicarnassus were the two principal Asiatic Grecian states whose people called themselves DORIANS.

The northern coast of the Ægean sea was not successfully and permanently settled by people from Greece so early as the eastern. It was, however, still an early period when, beside the acquisitions already mentioned of the Eubœans, all the best situations on the THRACIAN coast of the Ægean, and on both shores of the PROPONTIS, were possessed by Greeks, and some establishments were made far in the EUXINE sea. MACEDONIA, occupied by a colony from Argos, under Caranus descended from Temenus the Heracleid, will require more particular notice hereafter.

But these were not the most distant, or the most extraordinary of the Grecian acquisitions in those remote ages. Poetical tradition says, and the most judicious Grecian writers adopted the report, that, shortly after the Trojan war, Teucer, son of Telamon and brother of the celebrated Ajax, leading a colony from the little island of Salamis on the coast of Attica, founded the city of Salamis in CYPRUS. Unquestionably Cyprus was very early settled by Greeks. It had still earlier been occupied by the Phenicians, and from them it derived that worship of the goddess Venus, originally a Syrian goddess, for which it became early and continued long remarkable. Cyprus was then wooded like the uncleared parts of America. The Phenicians therefore, who, through their superiority in arts and manufactures,

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SECT. II.

Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 653.Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 652, 655.Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 99.Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 33. & l. iv.  
c. 12.Herodot. l. v.  
c. 22. & l. viii.  
c. 138.Thucyd. l. ii.  
c. 99.Pindar. Nem.  
iv.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 682.Herodot. l. i.  
c. 105.  
Homer. Odys.  
l. viii. v. 362.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 684.

\* Strabo is warm in eulogy of the Rhodian government: *Θαυμάση ἡ ἐνομιμία*, he says. But his phrase to express its character is particularly remarkable: *δημοκρατίας δ' ἵσως ἐν Ῥόδοι, καίτις ἐν δημοκρατοῦμενοι*. l. xiv. p. 652.

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found more immediate profit in trading to inhabited countries than in planting the uninhabited, seem not to have been averſe to the eſta-  
 bliſhment of Greek adventurers there. On the contrary the over-  
 abundance of wood, and the conſequent ſcarcity of inhabitants,  
 were eſteemed ſuch inconveniencies, and the value of ſoil covered  
 by wood was ſo trifling, that it was long cuſtomary to give lands to  
 any who would clear them. Colony therefore followed colony, from  
 Laconia, from Argos, from Athens, and ſome other parts. Thus  
 in time Cyprus became completely a Grecian iſland; and, from being  
 an object for nothing but its ſhip-timber and its copper-mines, was  
 made a rich and populous country, producing plenty of corn, and  
 famous for the excellence and abundance of its wines and oil. It was  
 however in early times divided into too many little ſtates for any one  
 to become conſiderable; and theſe were moſtly under that reprobated  
 ſort of monarchy which the Greeks denominated tyranny.

Among the moſt ſouthern of that cluster of little iſlands in the  
 Ægean ſea called the Cyclades, is Thera, planted at an early period  
 by a colony from Lacedæmon. This little iſland alſo ſent out its  
 colony: the city of Cyrene in AFRICA originated thence; and  
 through the excellence of its ſoil, the opportunity of extending its ter-  
 ritory, the convenience of its ſituation for commerce, and the ad-  
 vantage of its climate for productions valuable in exchange, Cyrene  
 roſe to an importance impoſſible for the mother-country ever to at-  
 tain. Pindar bears teſtimony to the early wealth of its people, and  
 repeatedly mentions the largeneſs of the towns that aroſe from it over  
 that part of Africa which became diſtinguiſhed by the name of the  
 Cyrenaic. Barca, afterward called Ptolemaïs, became early a conſi-  
 derable independent commonwealth.

Thus great and thus widely ſpred were the early Grecian colonies  
 eaſtward, northward, and ſouthward; and yet they were exceeded,  
 in hiſtorical importance at leaſt, by thoſe planted toward the weſt.  
 ITALY and SICILY were, in Homer's time, ſcarcely known but by  
 name. They were regions of imaginary monſters and real ſavages;  
 and

Herodot. l. iv.  
 c. 147 & 155.  
 Strabo, l. x.  
 p. 484. &  
 l. xvii. p. 837.

Pindar. Pyth.  
 iv. & v. & ix.

Strabo, l. vi.  
 p. 267.

and the great poet has described these as accurately, as he has painted those fancifully. ‘Neither plowing nor sowing,’ he says, ‘they feed on the spontaneous productions of the soil. They have no assemblies for public debate; no magistrates to enforce laws; no common concerns of any kind: but they dwell in caverns on mountain-tops; and every one is magistrate and lawgiver to his own family.’ The calamities and various confusion ensuing from the Trojan war are said to have occasioned the first Grecian migrations to these countries. This appears extremely probable; tho we should not implicitly believe the traditions which name the leaders and the spots on which they severally settled. But while we doubt whether Diomed, after having founded Arpi, Canusium, and Sipontum in Apulia, really penetrated to the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, and became master of the country about the mouth of the Po; and still more whether Pisa in Tuscany was really built by those Peloponnesian Pisans who had followed Nestor to the siege of Troy; not to mention the Arcadian Evander, as founder of that village on the banks of the Tiber which afterward became Rome; still we learn with unquestionable certainty, that if these were not facts, yet Grecian colonies were settled in various parts of Italy at a very early period: so early, that tho we can trace them very high, yet their origin lies beyond all means of investigation. The reputation was hence acquired by Cuma, on the Campanian coast, of being the oldest of all the Grecian towns both in Italy and Sicily; because it could with the greatest certainty refer its foundation to the remotest era. It was a colony led by Megasthenes and Hippocles from Chalcis and Cuma in Eubœa, not a great while, according to Velleius Paterculus, after the founding of those towns by the Athenians. The Campanian Cuma prospered and sent out its own colonies. Naples is among its offspring.

One flourishing settlement in this inviting country would greatly encourage farther adventures. The Chalcidians of Eubœa, we are told, finding, at a subsequent period, their population too great for their territory, consulted the Delphian oracle. The Pythoness directed them

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SECT. II.

Odyss. ix. 108.

Strabo, l. vi.  
p. 283, 284.Ibid. & l. v.  
p. 215.Strabo, l. v.  
p. 243.Strabo, *ibid.*  
Vell. Paterc.  
l. i. c. 4.Strabo, l. vi.  
p. 257.

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SECT. II.

Strabo, l. vi.

them to decimate their whole people, and send a tenth to found a colony. It happened that some of the principal Messenians, of those who had fled their country after the first war with Lacedæmon, were at the same time at Delphi to ask advice of the god. The managers of the oracle commanded them to join in the adventure with the decimated Chalcidians. Both parties were pleased with the order; and chusing for their leader a Messenian of the Heracleid family, they founded Rhegium on the southern point of Italy, which became a flourishing and powerful state. Not long after Tarentum was founded by Lacedæmonians; Locri Epizephyrii, and Medama by Locrians from Cistiā; Scylleticum, afterwards called Scyllacium, by Athenians; Crotona, and Sybaris from whose ruin rose Thurium, by Achæians; Salentum and Brundisium by Cretans. Some of these had many inferior towns within their territory: and in the end full half the coast of Italy came into the possession of Greeks; whose posterity, and even whose language, mixed indeed and degenerated amid the various and violent revolutions which, in the course of so many centuries, the country has undergone, retain notwithstanding in some parts much of their original character to this day.

Strabo, l. vi.  
P. 270.

While the coasts of Italy thus became Grecian ground, settlements had been made with equal or superior success in SICILY. The Euboic Chalcidians were still foremost here, where Naxos had the reputation of being the oldest Grecian town. Shortly after Archias a Heracleid, with a colony of Corinthians, founded Syracuse: Lamis, from Megara, built the Hyblæan Megara: Gela was a colony of Rhodians and Cretans; Leontium, Catana, Tauromenium, Selinus, Himera, Acraë, Cassimæ, Camarinæ, Agragas called by the Romans Agrigentum, and Zancle afterward named Messina, were considerable towns, colonies from those before founded in this island or in Italy. The interior of both countries remained to the former race of inhabitants. It is indeed remarkable that the Greeks seem never to have coveted inland territories. Their active temper led them always to maritime situations. If driven from these, they sought still others of  
the



the same kind, however remote from their native country, rather than be excluded from the sea, and the means which it affords for communication with all the world. Accordingly the Italian and Sicilian Greeks (whose possessions were now so extensive as to acquire the name of Great Greece,) and not less the African colonies maintained constant intercourse with the country of their forefathers: particularly they frequented the Olympian games, the great meeting for all people of Grecian race. Perhaps the advantages were not less from the intercourse maintained with the Asiatic colonies: for there Grecian art and science appear first to have risen to splendor: there Grecian philosophy seems to have had its birth, and from the island of Samos on the Asiatic coast the great Pythagoras came and settled at Crotona in Italy. Thus the colonies in general advanced nearly equally in improvements of art, science and civilization, and sometimes went even before the mother-country. The first system of laws committed to writing among the Greeks, according to Strabo, was that of the Epizephyrian Locrians, composed by Zaleucus, the scholar of Pythagoras. The political institutions were principally taken from those of Crete and Lacedæmon; the criminal law from the practice of the court of Areopagus at Athens: but the religious and moral precepts, always an essential part of the system of every early lawgiver, were of the school of his great master, and very superior to the doctrine of elder times. His criminal law had moreover the particular merit of being the first among the Greeks that secured the accused against the caprice of judges, by stating the penalty for every transgression; and his system all together was admired for the general easiness of its application upon liberal principles to all possible occurrences.

Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. Often the leaders were no more than pirates, not unlike the buccaneers of modern times. On a savage coast they seized a convenient port, set slaves to cultivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued their cruises. But when

Pindar. *passim*.

Strabo, l. vi.  
p. 263.

Strabo, l. vi.  
p. 259.

Diodor. Sic.  
l. xii. c. 20,  
21.

Strabo, l. vi.  
p. 260.

Pausan. l. iv.  
c. 23.  
Herod. l. vi.  
c. 17.

CHAP. VI. a state by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally  
 SECT. II. no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory,  
 Strabo, I. iv. or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal  
 p. 158. to their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens,  
 had sometimes farther views. Possessing naval force, they could give  
 protection and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths  
 in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colo-  
 nies, as in Greece itself, every considerable town claimed to be an  
 independent state; and, unless oppressed by a powerful neighbour,  
 maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.

### SECTION III.

*The History of Athens from the Abolition of Royalty to the Legislation  
 of Solon.*

HAVING thus briefly surveyed the extensive and important acquisitions of the Greek nation in various foreign parts, we return to Athens. We have heretofore had occasion to observe that all the traditions of the Greeks, concerning the early history of their country, bear strong marks, if not of truth, yet at least of honesty. Even those ages distinguished by the epithets poetical, fabulous, and heroic, are far from abounding with matter of flattery to the Greek nation. Homer's perfect impartiality is perhaps among the greatest wonders of his works; and from the period where his history ceases, to that in which the first prose historians lived, a space of at least two centuries and a half, we find absolutely nothing of what the character of vanity, so liberally attributed to the Greek nation, might lead us to expect. It is an observation of Sallust that the actions of the Athenians, really great, are made to appear still greater by the admirable manner in which their historians related them. But those celebrated actions of the Athenians did not begin till the eyes of many enlightened and jealous people were upon them. That remote period of their history  
 where

where invention, secure from conviction, might riot in flattery, is remarkably barren of circumstances flattering to the nation. Cecrops, their first hero, was no Athenian; even their favorite Theseus was not born in their country: Codrus was a Peloponnesian; and with Codrus heroism in the ancient stile ended. Here appears a striking difference between the histories of Greece and of Rome. The first accounts of Greece present us with a people inferior to the inhabitants of other known countries, looking up with reverence to any strangers who would do them the honor to come among them. After the times of the hydras, chimæras, flying horses, sea-monsters, and other extravagancies merely poetical, the hero whose actions remain recorded as most extraordinary, is Aristomenes; whose memory was cherished as the solace of an unfortunate people, while their conquerors, become the most powerful of the Greeks, have attributed no remarkable celebrity to any of their great men of the same age, but have left unquestionable victories to speak for themselves by their effects only. But the history of Rome, from the establishment of the consulate, is made up of gross flattery to the people at large and to the great families in particular, till it became, in too notorious reality, a disgrace to human nature. I would not depreciate the real merit of the Romans. If we had no history of Rome from the time when it was sacked by the Gauls to the time when it ruined Carthage, still we should be certain that, in that interval, it must have produced not a few, but a whole people of great men. It is the history only, and not the people of Greece and Rome, that I mean at present to compare. In consequence of the modest veracity of the Attic historians, Athens is almost without history for some generations after the death of Codrus. The few objects occurring are not matter of boast. Twelve archons are named, who followed Medon by hereditary succession; and the vanity of aftertimes has not ascribed to any one of them, or to any one man under their government, a memorable action; tho, according to Blair's chronology, the reigns of the thirteen were of no less than three hundred and sixteen years, from the year before

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Christ one thousand and seventy to the year seven hundred and fifty-four. Newton, who places the death of Codrus only eight hundred and four years before Christ, makes the interval to the death of Alcmaeon the thirteenth archon, in the year six hundred forty-seven, no more than one hundred and fifty-seven years. It may not be absolutely useless to lay before the reader the barren list of names, which the investigators of Attic antiquities have given us, as of persons who, under the title of king or archon, reigned in Attica from the earliest traditions to this period. He will judge whether inventive posterity has attributed to them an improbable proportion of brilliant achievements. Ogyges is mentioned as a prince who reigned at a time beyond connected tradition. After an undetermined interval, the next named is the Egyptian Cecrops. To him succeeded Cranaus, Amphiçtyon, Erechtheus, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoon, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymætēs, Melanthus, Codrus, Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Therisippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespicius, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcmaeon. Some writers have supposed three kings more between Amphiçtyon and Ægeus; making a second Cecrops, a second Pandion, and a second Erechtheus; or calling the first Erichthonius.

The next important occurrence in the history of Athens, after changing the title of the chief magistrate, was a farther change in the constitution. On the death of Alcmaeon, Charops was raised to the archonship upon condition of holding it for ten years only. Six archons followed Charops by appointment for ten years. But on the expiration of the archonship of Eryxias a farther and greater change was made: it was resolved that the office should be annual, and that instead of one, there should be nine persons to execute its duties. Neither equal dignity, however, nor the same functions were assigned to all. One principally represented the majesty of the state: by his name the year of his magistracy was distinguished; whence he was sometimes called Archon Eponymus, but more usually he was intitled simply the Archon. The second in rank had the title of King.

Ol. xxxiii.

2.

B. C. 647.

N.

Ol. vi. 4.

B. C. 753.

B.

Ol. xliii. 2.

B. C. 607.

N.

Ol. xxiv. 1.

B. C. 684.

B.

King. He was head of the religion of the commonwealth, to which alone the peculiar functions of his dignity related. The Polemarch was third, and originally his office was what the title imports, chief in the military affairs of the commonwealth. The other six archons had the common title of *Thesmothetes*: they presided as judges in the ordinary courts of justice; and the six formed a tribunal which had a peculiar jurisdiction. The nine together formed the council of state. Legislation remained with the assembly of the people; but almost the whole administration, civil, military, and judiciary, was with the archons. Those magistrates were ordinarily appointed by lot; but sometimes the assembly of the people interfered, and exercised the power of naming them.

Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 126.

Farther than this we are little exactly informed what was yet the constitution of the Athenian government: for writing was hitherto so little practised in Greece, that there were no written laws. It was therefore impossible for improvements in legislation, or in the forms of administration, to advance with any steady pace, or, except with such extraordinary institutions as those of Crete and Lacedæmon, to rest on any firm ground. The abolition of hereditary supreme magistracy is a measure not generally likely to bring internal peace to a country; and the Athenian history, during above a century which, according to the lowest computation, passed between the appointment of annual archons and the Persian invasion, is supplied by scarcely anything but intestine troubles. That weight which, from earliest times, a few principal families possessed among the Attic people, and which was in a great degree confirmed to them by the constitutions of Theseus, remained, amid all the turbulence of democracy, to a late period. Among those families the Alcæonid is of great fame; claiming, it should seem from the names of Megacles and Alcæon which they affected, some connection by blood with the perpetual archons and the kings of the Neleid line. Megacles, head of this family, was archon when Cylon, a man also of a very ancient and powerful

Newton's  
Chronol.

CHAP. VI. powerful family \*, attempted to acquire the sovereignty of his coun-  
 SECT. III. try. He had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara :  
 Herodot. l. v. he had been victor in the chariot-race at the Olympian games, a cir-  
 c. 71. cumstance which in those days of itself gave rank and reputation,  
 Thucyd. l. i. not without some opinion also of peculiar favor from the god of the  
 c. 126. festival ; and being apparently a man of much ambition and little un-  
 Plut. Solon. derstanding, he interpreted a dubious response of the Delphian oracle  
 as a declaration of divine blessing upon his purpose. With some  
 Thucyd. *ibid.* troops which he received from his father-in-law, he seized the citadel  
 of Athens. But he seems to have been little prepared for the farther  
 prosecution of his enterprize. The people ran to arms under the  
 conduct of the archons, and immediately laid siege to the citadel.  
 Cylon took an early opportunity to seek his own safety in flight. His  
 adherents, pressed by famine, forsook their arms and fled to the altars.  
 Persuaded to quit these, under promises of personal security, they  
 were notwithstanding condemned and executed. This action gave  
 occasion for great outcry. Many authors mention it as an enormity  
 of the blackest dye, and singularly offensive to the gods. In conse-  
 quence of it the remaining partizans of Cylon gathered fresh popula-  
 rity, and became again a powerful faction.

The intolerable inconveniencies of an unsettled government, and  
 an uncertain jurisprudence, at length induced all parties to concur  
 in the resolution to appoint a lawgiver, who should be empowered to  
 make a thorough reformation in the state, and establish a system for  
 the future conduct of its affairs ; particularly for the regular admini-  
 stration of justice. Draco was raised to the important office ; a man  
 whose severe morals and inflexible uprightness justly recommended  
 him, but who was unfortunately of genius very inferior to the un-  
 dertaking. The political constitution he seems to have left as he  
 found it. His alterations were confined to the judicature ; and even  
 there he showed himself incapable of accommodating his ideas either

\* *Τῶν πάλαι ἡγευῶν καὶ δεσποτῶν.* Thucyd. l. i. c. 126.

to the necessities of particular situations, or to the general temper of mankind \*. All crimes equally, from the most enormous to the most trifling that became objects of his laws, he made capital; urging that a breach of any positive law, being treason to the jurisprudence of the state, deserved death; and he could go no farther for greater crimes. The severity of such a system defeated its own purpose. Few would be accusers against inferior criminals, when the consequence was to be fatal to the accused; and the humanity of the judges interfering where that of witnesses was deficient, it followed that all crimes, except those highly atrocious, went wholly unpunished. The laws of Draco, therefore, were a very imperfect remedy for the evils under which Athens labored: in some instances they but increased them.

A state agitated between inveterate constitutional disorders, and imperfect attempts at reformation, was open to misfortune. The people of Salamis, perceiving the weakness of the Athenian government, and probably suffering under it, had revolted, and allied themselves with Megara. The Athenians made several attempts to recover the island; but always with such loss, that at length the lower people, in opposition to their chiefs, carried a law, making it capital for any one, magistrate or private person, ever to propose a renewal of the undertaking. This rash act of a legislating populace brought forward to public notice one of the greatest characters that Greece ever produced. Solon, a young man of an ancient and honorable family of Attica, had been hitherto distinguished only by his love of learning and his genius for poetry. The law concerning Salamis began soon to be an evident cause of dissatisfaction and shame, particularly among the younger Athenians. None however dared openly propose the repeal of it. Solon ventured an attempt to evade its penalty, while he should lead the people to the act which themselves now wished. He caused it to be reported that he had occasional access of phrenzy;

Plut. Solon.  
Justin. l. ii.  
c. 7.

\* Δράκωνος δὲ νόμοι μὲν ἴσται· πολιτεία δ' ἵπποκρίτης, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἔβλεπον, πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης διὰ τὸ χρεῖσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἰθὺς. Ἴδιον δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἐθετοῖν τὴν ζυμίας μέτρον. Aristot. Polit. l. ii. c. 12.

and

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and for some time kept his house. In this retirement he composed a poem, such as he thought might excite the multitude as he desired. Then watching a proper opportunity during an assembly of the people, he ran into the agora like one frantic, mounted the herald's stone from which proclamations were usually spoken, and thence recited his poem to the crowd. Some of his friends were at hand, prepared to wonder, admire, and applaud. The people caught the phrenzy; the law concerning Salamis was abrogated; and it was decreed immediately to send a fresh expedition against that island. The business now came into the hands of the party to which Solon attached himself: it was conducted with prudence, and the success was answerable: the Athenians recovered the island with little loss.

Plut. Solon.

But the spirit of faction yet remained unquelled. The partisans of Cylon were still violently clamorous about the unexpiated crime of the partisans of Megacles. Solon therefore, having now acquired great consideration with all parties, again stepped forth, and had influence sufficient to persuade the accused peaceably to abide a trial, to which the administration of the republic was unable to compel them. They were condemned to exile: but this punishment upon the living was deemed insufficient to secure the commonwealth from the vengeance of the affronted deity: the bones of those who had died were removed beyond the mountains.

Meanwhile the Megareans, taking advantage of these domestic troubles, retook Salamis. Superstition now acquired the ascendant, in the room of faction, over the active minds of the Athenians. Phantoms were reported to have been seen, and various ominous circumstances to have happened, and the priests loudly exclaimed that expiations and purifications were necessary to avert the portended anger of the gods. All contributed to produce in the people a disposition favorable to the purpose of reforming the government; and Solon was watchful to every turn. Epimenides, a Cretan philosopher, had extensive reputation for skill in the divinity of the age. He was invited to take upon him, in this season of alarm, the superintendence of the religion



gion of Athens. Solon lived in intimate friendship with him; and together they laid the foundation of various improvements in the government and jurisprudence of the republic. Epimeneides was the ostensible director of everything: but he innovated in little more than to order the performance of sacrifices and processions, with great pomp, and some new ceremonies; in which his view seems principally to have been to bring the people, through the influence of religion, recommended by dazzling splendor and alluring amusement, to a more settled disposition toward good order and sober conduct. One only regulation besides is attributed to him: he restrained the usual excess of public mourning for deceased relations, which had often led to tumult; being conducted, after the manner of many barbarous nations, and of the provincial Irish to this day, with public and clamorous lamentation and weeping, in which the women bore a principal part. By degrees internal quiet was restored to Athens, and Epimeneides took his leave. High honors and valuable presents were decreed to him by the state for his services. He refused all, and requested only a branch of the sacred olive-tree which grew in the acropolis, said to be the parent of its kind, and to have sprung from the ground at the command of the goddess Minerva. This being granted him, he returned to Crete. When superior abilities have acquired influence to one man over the many, such ostentatious disinterestedness beyond all things confirms their power; and it is in times only when honorable poverty may be an object even of ambition to men of superior talents, that great reformatations in a state are to be expected.

Plut. Solon.  
Herod. l. viii.  
c. 55.

The quiet of Athens was not likely to be lasting; for three political parties still distracted its little territory. One was for democratical government. It was principally composed of the landholders of the mountainous tract, where property was much divided. Another was for keeping all political sway in the hands of the wealthy; and among these the richer possessors of the plain were leaders. A third party, of more disinterested and moderate men, preferred a

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mixture of oligarchy with democracy. The principal strength of this party lay among the inhabitants of the coast. Hence these factions were long known at Athens by the names of the parties of the highlands, the lowlands, and the coast. But there was another division of the Attic people, from which danger was yet more threatening, into the party of the rich and the party of the poor. Almost all the ancient commonwealths of which any accounts remain, have been violently agitated through the consequences of unequal property. This gave occasion to the division of lands at Sparta; this caused many alterations in the constitution of Rome; and this was the immediate motive for the appointment of Solon to be law-giver of Athens. The operation of wealth has been remarkably similar in the different republics. Everywhere the laws have given to the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy, to the power always attending property, added a power not originally intended by the constitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them. The indiscretion of the needy has always coöperated at first with the ambition of the rich to increase that power. The indiscretion of the rich afterward, indulging a disposition to avarice and tyranny, has at length urged the poor to resist an authority to which themselves had contributed to give the sanction of law. At Athens an insolvent debtor became slave to his creditor; and not himself only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would sell his children to save himself. Power on one side, and resources on the other, both so abhorrent from humanity, necessarily produced a violent irritation in the minds of the poor against the rich. Most dangerous dissensions were on the point of breaking out, and many sober men, says Plutarch, began to think that nothing less than the establishment of regal power, or, as it was then called, a tyranny, could prevent greater evils. In this state of things the superior character of Solon drew the attention of all parties. He was obnoxious to none: not to the lower people, because, tho' rich, he never oppressed

Plutarch.  
Solon.

pressed any : not to the higher, because, tho adverse to their private tyranny, he favored their political power. His superior wisdom had been approved ; his integrity was believed above all influence ; and he was respected universally. His character was thus great, not only in Athens, but throughout Greece. The part he had taken in the vindication of the temple of Delphi against some attempts of the Cirrhæans, in consequence of which a body of Athenian forces marched to assist the Amphictyons, had greatly extended his reputation. His friends therefore succeeded in procuring him the appointment, by universal consent, to be archon, with power to reform the laws and constitution of the state.

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Ol. liv. 3.  
B. C. 562.N.  
Ol. xlv. 3.  
B. C. 594.  
B.

## SECTION IV.

*Reformation of the Athenian Government and Jurisprudence by Solon.*

BARBAROUS ages are most favorable for legislation. History affords few instances of great improvement in the constitution of polished states. The means there can scarcely occur but through some violent convulsion, threatening subversion, confounding all establishments, and reducing things to the chaos of barbarism. The English constitution stands singular in the circumstance of its gradual improvements. But the materials of its foundation, derived from German forests, were arranged by the great Alfred in days of the deepest barbarism : and for our jurisprudence, by the acknowledgment of our greatest lawyers, it received more improvement in the two reigns of Henry the Second and Edward the First than in all the centuries since. The friends of Solon appear to have been aware of the greater difficulty of political reformation among an enlightened people, when, doubting the sufficiency of the authority given him to repress the effects of party, and curb the interfering ambition of powerful individuals, they offered to assist him in assuming royalty, and with a high hand molding all things to his own pleasure. But

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Solon.

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Solon was wise enough for his own sake to refuse that dangerous preëminence; and for the sake of his country to avoid attempting those fundamental changes for which he saw the season was now past. Bold as well as virtuous, he had yet neither the daring nor the severe temper of the Spartan lawgiver; but each seems to have been born for his own age and his own country.

Like Lycurgus, Solon's first object, and what indeed the state of things at Athens most urgently demanded, was to remedy the evils produced by inequality of possessions; to reconcile the rich with the poor, to relieve these without violently offending those. But Solon would obviate the abuse, not abolish the use of riches. The business was of extreme nicety. Accounts differ concerning the manner in which it was effected; but the legislator at length brought the two parties to join in a common sacrifice, which was called the *Seisachtheia*, or feast of the delivery from burthens, and all was settled: probably, as some authors have related, not by annulling the debts, but by lowering the interest; by giving means of advantage to the debtor through some alterations in the value of money; and especially by taking from the creditor all power over the persons of the debtor and his family.

This most difficult and dangerous business being accommodated, Solon proceeded to regulate the constitution of the commonwealth. We are told that Lycurgus, being asked why he, who in other respects appeared so zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his government democratical, rather than oligarchal, 'Go you,' the legislator answered, 'and try a democracy in your own house.' Solon was not unaware of the evils inherent in that turbulent form of rule; but he found a predilection for it so rooted in the minds of his fellowcountrymen, that he feared to attempt a change, and sought only to obviate its inconveniencies. To every free Athenian, therefore, was preserved his equal vote in the ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE, which remained supreme in all cases legislative, executive, and judicial; a foundation of evil so broad, that all the wisdom of Solon's other

Plutarch.  
Apoph. La-  
con.



other regulations was weak against it. Yet his other regulations were replete with wisdom.

It were however difficult, if not impossible, by the most accurate collection of what remains to us in various ancient authors, to ascertain what was at any time, in every particular, the form of government of Athens; nor have we the means of always determining what was, and what was not, of the institution of Solon. The learned archbishop Potter, after all his labors, leaves us in the dark concerning some circumstances which we might wish to have better elucidated: for if it were only on account of the esteem in which they were held by the Romans, who must have been impartial as well as otherwise most respectable judges, the institutions of Solon would be among the greatest objects of curiosity in all antiquity. Indeed they may be considered, in some degree, as the fountain of all the legislation and jurisprudence of Europe; being the acknowledged model of the Roman law, which has formed that of the other European nations, and contributed considerable improvements even to our own. In thus tracing modern jurisprudence upward, we arrive indeed at a very remote source. Through Rome we pass to Athens, to Crete, to Egypt. But it is in the constitution and practice of Athens that a regular and scientific jurisprudence first becomes known to us in any detail: and tho Athens probably gained much from Crete, first by Theseus, then by Epimenides, yet those improvements, that polish, which formed the peculiar merit of its constitution, have by the consent of all been attributed to Solon.

In the inquiry then what the Athenian constitution was, it will be first necessary to take a view of the COMPONENT MEMBERS of the Athenian commonwealth; because in these it differed so widely from every thing in modern Europe, that this alone suffices to prevent any close resemblance in almost any particular. The results of two polls of ATHENIAN CITIZENS remain reported to us; one taken in the time of Pericles, the other in that of Demetrius Phalereus. By the first they were found to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons; probably

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probably men above the age of thirty, before which they seem not to have been legally competent to vote in the assembly of the people; tho of this we are not fully assured. At the second period the Athenian citizens were twenty-one thousand; and at the same time there were found resident in Attica ten thousand FREEMEN of age to pay the capitation-tax, who had NOT the rights of Athenian citizens, being either foreigners, or of foreign extraction, or freed slaves, or descended from such; all comprehended under the common name of *Metοikoi*; and the SLAVES in actual bondage, men, women, and children, were no less than four hundred thousand\*. This proportion of slaves to freemen, in a commonwealth so boastful of liberty as its darling passion, astonishes. Not that it is difficult to account for either the origin, or this enormous increase of slavery in the progress of society. For savages can exist only where they are few in proportion to the territory they have to wander over. Where numbers increase, agriculture becomes necessary to subsistence, and the savage state ends. Still, while men are contented with necessaries, moderate labor suffices, in a favorable soil and climate, to maintain a family. But when, arts advancing, wants increase; when those who cultivate the soil are only a small portion of those to be fed by it; the degree of labor then wanting from the numbers employed, to procure from the earth a cheap abundance of its most valuable and necessary productions, is so extremely irksome, that nothing less than constant practice from early years can make it tolerable. Few people in easy circumstances have any just idea of this. Living mostly in towns, they talk with ignorant envy of the healthy labors of the peasant. Those labors of the peasant, not generally adverse to health indeed, unfailingly bring on immature old age. The limbs early stiffen: they bear the accustomed labor, which

\* There has been considerable disagreement among modern writers concerning the manner in which the accounts of the population of Attica remaining in ancient authors, and particularly that of Athenæus, which is of most consequence, are to be understood. The subject has been judiciously discussed by Dr. Gil-

lies in the preface to his excellent translation of the Orations of Lysias and Isocrates. He has however avoided the important question at what age the Athenians became competent to vote in the assembly of the people; probably having found that means are not remaining for deciding it.

no others can bear: but they lose that general power of brisk exertion which we call activity. The internal frame at the same time wears; and even the luxurious sometimes reach a length of days which the hard-laboring man never sees. When warlike people therefore, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of sparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death; not from a spirit of cruelty, but from necessity; for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free. SLAVERY thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired; because all can employ themselves in their own concerns. Hence the necessity for slavery in our colonies. Tradition still in Herodotus's age preserved memory of the time when slavery was unknown in Greece; but before Homer, as we have seen, slaves were numerous. Throughout Greece the slave-trade became as regular a branch of commerce as now in the West Indies. Athens had its slave-market. But hired labor, which formerly could not be had, then became little desirable. The poor therefore, to subsist, must either emigrate, or become voluntary slaves, like the indented servants of America; which we are told was not uncommon. Thus we see the great superiority in number of slaves to freemen at Athens accounted for. The disproportion was greater at Lacedæmon, and scarcely inferior over Greece\*: tho it was probably not so great in the age of Solon, as it was become in that of Demetrius Phalereus.

Herodot. l. vi.  
p. 137.

From this view of things then, it appears that DEMOCRACY was a mode of government not so absolutely absurd and impracticable among the Greeks, as it would be where no slavery is. For tho in democracies the supreme power was nominally vested in all the people, yet those called the people, who exclusively shared that power,

\* Thucydides says, the proportion of slaves was nowhere greater than in Chios, except in Laconia, l. viii. c. 40.

were

CHAP. VI. were scarcely a tenth part of the men of the state. The people,  
 SECT. IV. moreover, were almost all in circumstances to have received some education, and to subsist by easier means than those which, through constant labor of the body, disable the mind for liberal exertion. It was held by the Grecian politicians as a self-evident proposition, that those who are to share in government should have the means of living independently in leisure; and the only question was, how in a democracy those means should be secured to a whole people\*. Slavery however was absolutely necessary; and hence, tho it was disputed by some philosophers, yet Aristotle maintains that slavery is natural among mankind. The same great author supposes a commonwealth consisting of thirteen hundred families; of which one thousand should be rich, and three hundred poor. Antiently in Colophon, he adds, most of the citizens had large property. The proportion of slaves must of course be great. In Lacedæmon, as we have seen, the constitution required that every freeman should be strictly a gentleman; and in the rest of Greece, scarcely any were so low as our laborers and handicraftsmen. At Athens all the people were paid out of the public treasury for attendance on the public business; which thus afforded means of support in some degree for the poor; at the same time enabling them to intermit bodily labor, and encouraging application of the mind.

Aristot. Polit.  
l. i. c. 5 & 6.

Polit. l. iv.  
c. 4.

But SOVEREIGN POWER being thus vested in the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE, it was of great consequence, to ascertain who were ATHENIAN PEOPLE, legally intitled to that high privilege; and to provide effectually for the exclusion of those who were not so. Attica had been divided in very early times, it is said by Cecrops, in a manner very nearly analogous to that of our own country by the great Alfred, into shires, hundreds and tythings. These divisions of Attica, in the course of ages, underwent changes both of name and effect; and two of the three seem to have remained of

\* Ὅτι μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν πολλοὺς καλῶς πολιτίζεσθαι ἴεν· τίνα δὲ τρόποι ὑπάρχουσι ἐκείνοι λαβεῖν. Αἰσθ. τῶν ἀναρχικῶν ὑπάρχον σχήλων ἐκλογισμῶν. Polit. l. ii. c. 9.



principal use, the Phylæ, and the Demi, which our writers on Greek history have usually translated tribes and boroughs. The tribes, from Cecrops till about fifty years after Solon, were only four. A new division was then made of the country and people into ten tribes; and the boroughs were one hundred and seventy-four. Each tribe or phyle had its presiding magistrate, called Phylarchus or Epimeletes Phyles, analogous to our sheriff; and each borough or demos its Demarchus, analogous to our constable or headborough. It is remarkable that as the title of King, Basileus, was scrupulously preserved to the high-priest, or person presiding over the religious concerns of the Attic nation, so the president of the religious concerns of each tribe was intitled Phylobasileus, King of the tribe; and he was always appointed from among the nobly born, the eupatrides. Every child born to the privileges of an Athenian was carefully registered soon after birth. Youths at eighteen were entered in a second register, when they were reckoned among the Ephebi, and became liable to military duties within Attica. At twenty, being esteemed men, they were introduced at a public meeting of their demos, and were registered a third time.

If democracy was a form of government desirable for any people that ever existed, the Lacedæmonians must have been above all others competent for it. Yet Lycurgus deemed it unfit even for those among whom was no difference of rank, or riches, or education, but who were all equally and with assiduous attention bred for the business of the commonwealth only, and to all of whom equally he meant to secure the most perfect freedom of which mankind in society is capable. Solon therefore, evidently more in necessary compliance with the temper of the times than in pursuance of what himself thought best, having confirmed to the Assembly of the People a power more universally and uncontrollably absolute than any despot upon earth ever did or ever can possess, his great concern was to establish some balancing power, capable in some degree of obviating the evils which a sovereign multitude is ever ready to bring upon itself. Theseus, as we have seen, had divided the Attic people into three ranks, or per-

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haps rather into two ranks, tho there were three classes; and by his law those of the first rank were alone competent for magistracy of any kind. Various changes seem to have been made after him, as it suited the interest of leaders of prevailing factions to enlarge or to abridge the privileges of the lower orders; and, when Solon undertook the legislation, contradictory precedents had been so numerous as nearly to have overturned all rule. That lawgiver made a new division of the people into **FOUR RANKS**, determined merely by the value of every man's possessions. **MAGISTRACIES** he confined to the First Three; leaving to the Fourth only the equal Vote of every Freeman in the Assembly of the People. But this alone sufficed to put all power into the hands of those least capable of properly exercising it: for the fourth rank, being more numerous than all the others, would, if united, of course be omnipotent, and might even alter the constitution, as we shall hereafter find they did, to their own pleasure.

Still therefore pursuing his view of forming a balance against the indiscretion of the multitude, Solon instituted a new **COUNCIL** or **SENATE**, consisting of one hundred persons out of each of the four tribes which composed the Attic people. Such an assembly he hoped would have a weight which the College of Archons had been unable to maintain. To it therefore he committed many of the powers which had before belonged to those magistrates. But this Council becomes more known to us after the increase of the number of Tribes to ten; when Fifty Counsellors were appointed out of each, making the whole number five hundred; whence it's common title was the Council of Five Hundred, or sometimes simply **THE FIVE HUNDRED**. The members were appointed annually by lot from among those of the Athenian people legally qualified for the dignity who were desirous of obtaining it. But previously to their admission they were to undergo a strict inquiry concerning their past life, which was termed *Dokimasia*; when, if any thing could be proved prejudicial to their character, they were to be rejected. The counsellors of each tribe in turn, for the space of thirty-five days, had superior dignity

nity and additional powers, with the title of PRYTANES; and from them the council-hall was called PRYTANEIUM. The prytanes were again by turns Presidents of the council; and each held that high office only one day; during which he had the custody of the public seal, of the keys of the treasury, and of the keys of the citadel. The whole assembly formed the Council of State of the commonwealth, having constant charge of its political concerns. It was moreover a particular and very important function of this council to prepare business for the Assembly of the People; in which, according to Solon's constitution, nothing was to be proposed which had not first been approved here. But the powers which he had already ratified to that assembly were too preponderant for any certain restraint. Whenever, at the instigation of a factious demagogue, it desired more, it might demand and take.

Aware how much the business of all is liable to be considered as the business of none, Solon, having given sovereign power to the people, would not leave it to their choice to neglect its duties. Upon this principle rests that singular, but surely wise ordinance, That those should be held criminal who took no part in civil commotions. For as it is notoriously the honest men who are generally most disposed to be quiet on such occasions, nothing seems so likely to secure the constitution as compelling all men to interfere. For the same reason the legislator provided means to enforce the attendance of the people at the general assemblies. Four were regularly to be held during the presidency of each prytaneia, which, as we have seen, was for a term of thirty-five days; and each of these assemblies had its stated business. That of the first was principally to approve or reject magistrates; to receive accusations of public offences presented by the Thesmothete Archons; and to hear the catalogue of fines and confiscations for public service. The second enacted laws and received petitions, relative either to the public or to private persons. The peculiar business of the third was to give audience to the ministers of foreign powers. The concerns of religion were the sole object of the fourth.

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Often the business of these assemblies would be little interesting to the people in general; yet great inconvenience might follow from want of due attendance. When therefore the people were remiss, which seems to have been common, the magistrates shut all the city-gates except one, by which the people were permitted to pass only to the assembly: they caused all vendibles to be removed from the markets; and they sent about their attendants holding an extended cord, prepared with a dye for the purpose, with which they marked all they overtook, and those so marked were fined. All who attended in due time received a small pay from the treasury. To keep order in so large a meeting, nine Proedri, Foremen, were appointed by lot from the council; one from each of those tribes which were not at the time prytanes. From these nine the Epistates, Chairman or Speaker of the assembly, was appointed by lot. With them sat the Nomophylaces, from their number called the Eleven, whose peculiar duty it was to be watchful over the laws, and to explain to the people the tendency of any proposals contrary to the spirit of the constitution. The Prytanes had distinct powers in the assembly, which were considerable.

The members of the Grecian democracies, sensible, from frequent experience, of the uncertain power of reason over a multitude, and of the evils liable to arise from the fluctuating and inflammable nature of popular passion, devised or admitted various precautions to prevent themselves from being led to acts to their own prejudice. It was ordained by Charondas, the celebrated lawgiver of the Thurians of Italy, that whosoever would propose to abrogate an old law or enact a new one, should come into the assembly with a halter about his neck; and death was to follow if his proposal was rejected. Solon was not so rigid. Aware that regulations the best adapted to the circumstances of the commonwealth at one time, might not equally suit those of another, he enjoined an annual revival of the laws; when, if any alteration was adjudged in the assembly of the people to be necessary, the Nomothetes, a court consisting of a thousand persons, were



were directed to consider of the best mode of alteration. When these had prepared a new law, five officers, called Syndics, were appointed to defend the old before the assembly; which then decided between the two. In any other manner than this it was hazardous to propose a new law at Athens. A law passed by the assembly without having been previously published as the constitution required; a law conceived in ambiguous or fallacious terms; or a law contrary to any former law, subjected the proposer to penalties. It was therefore usual to repeal the old law before a contrary new one was proposed; and the delay thus occasioned was an additional security to the constitution.

The regular manner of INACTING a LAW at Athens was thus: The bill was to be prepared by the council. But any Athenian, having anything to propose for public consideration, might address it to the Prytanes, whose duty it was to receive all petitions and informations, and transmit them to the council. If approved there, it became a *Probouleuma*, analogous to our parliamentary bill prepared by a committee; and, being then written on a tablet, was exposed during several days for public perusal and consideration. At the next assembly it was read to the people. This being done, proclamation was made by the public crier in these terms: ‘Who of those above fifty years old chuses to speak?’ When these, if any were so disposed, had made their orations, the crier again proclaimed, ‘Any Athenian, not disqualified by law, may speak.’ The disqualifying circumstances were, having fled from their colors in battle, being deeply indebted to the commonwealth, or having been ever convicted of any heinous crime. But the Prytanes had a general power to injoin silence to any man at discretion. Without some such power lodged somewhere, the business of the assembly might be endless; yet it was, no doubt, necessary for the Prytanes to exercise this power in subordination to the pleasure of the majority of the assembly. The debates being ended, the crier, at the command of the *Proedri*, signified to the people that the business waited their determination; when  
suffrages

CHAP. VI. suffrages were given by holding up hands. This was the ordinary  
 SECT. IV. manner of voting : but in some extraordinary cases, particularly  
 when the question related to the maladministration of magistrates,  
 votes were given privately by casting pebbles into vessels prepared by  
 the Prytanes. The Proedri examined the suffrages, and declared the  
 majority. The Prytanes dismissed the assembly.

We see, in the conduct of this business, numerous precautions  
 wisely taken to insure regularity, and to prevent sinister management,  
 in a form of government so naturally disposed to irregularity, and so  
 naturally open to the arts of designing men. But Solon hoped to  
 provide a farther and powerful weight in the balance against the un-  
 certainty and turbulence of democratic rule, by the restoration of the  
 court of AREOPAGUS. The partiality of after-times has carried the  
 fame of this celebrated court far into the fabulous ages ; but we have  
 no authentic account of its origin \*. The institutions of Draco had  
 nearly abolished its authority and superseded its use. Solon restored  
 its consequence, improved its regulations, and augmented its powers.  
 How its members were appointed before him we are not informed.  
 By his institutions it was composed of those who had executed the  
 office of archon with credit ; all of whom, having passed the Doki-  
 masia, or scrutiny concerning their conduct in that high office, were  
 admitted members of the Areopagus. This seems to have been the  
 only dignity of the Athenian government conferred for a longer  
 term than one year : the Areopagites were for life.

The power of this court was very great. It is said to have been  
 the first that ever sat upon life and death : in early times in Greece,

\* Archbishop Potter apologizes, seemingly unnecessarily, for differing from such respectable authors as Cicero and Plutarch, who call Solon the founder of the court of Areopagus. It is not probable that Cicero and Plutarch meant to deny the existence of the court of Areopagus before Solon : but they call him justly the founder of that court, such as it was in the flourishing times of the Athenian commonwealth. Demosthenes professes his ignorance of its origin (1), of which he scarcely could have been ignorant had it been no older than Solon.

(1) Orat. in Aristocratem.

as throughout western Europe, public justice proceeding no farther against the most atrocious criminals than the exaction of a fine. Capital offences among the Athenians were, for the most part, connisable by this court only. From the areopagus alone was constitutionally no appeal to the assembly of the people: yet, if that assembly chose to interfere, no balancing power existed in the Athenian commonwealth capable of resisting its despotic will. But the constitution authorized the Areopagus to stop the effect of the judicial decrees of the assembly of the people itself; to annul an acquittal, or extend mercy to the condemned. The Areopagus directed all issues from the public treasury. It had great power as a censorial court, punishing impiety, immorality, and all disorderly conduct; not merely when accusations were brought; but it was the duty of the areopagites to watch the behaviour of the citizens. They had particularly the superintendence of youth; and it was their duty to see that all were educated suitably to their rank and fortune. Idleness was a crime in Solon's code, and came particularly under their cognisance. They were to inquire strictly by what means every man, not of known property or visible employment, maintained himself. It was the custom of this court, for judicial business, to sit only in the night, and without light. The purpose of this singularity is said to have been that the members might be the less liable to prejudice for or against accused persons. It was for the same reason a rule that pleaders should confine themselves to simple narration of fact, and statement of the law, without any ornament of speech, or any attempt to warp the judgement by appealing to the passions of the judges. The reputation of this court for wisdom and strict justice, and very remarkably for the respectable characters of its members, was long extremely high\*.

\* The learned dean Humphrey Prideaux among which the concluding hyperbole of the  
(1) has summed up the principal testimonies great Tully is remarkable: 'Areopagitis a So-  
to the great authority and high reputation of lone commissarius legum custodia (2). Sape  
the court of Areopagus in the following words; 'igitur injustitiæ et temeritati populi relictis,

(1) In *Marm.* l. Oxon. p. 331.

(2) Plutarch. in *Solon.* et *Andocides* in *Orat. de Mysteriis.*

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The Athenian constitution, for so small a state, was very complex. Beside the General Assembly and the Areopagus, there were no less than TEN COURTS OF JUDICATURE in Athens; four for criminal causes, and six for civil. In the establishment of these it was that Solon most eminently displayed both his honest zeal for the equal liberties of men, and his ability, as a legislator, to devise the most effectual means for securing them: here we see principally exemplified the idea expressed in his celebrated answer reported among the sayings of the seven wisemen, 'That,' said Solon, 'is in my opinion ' the most perfect government where an injury to any one is the concern of all.' Before that lawgiver the Archons were, in most causes, supreme and sole judges. Solon directed that, in the ten courts just mentioned, causes should be decided by a body of men, like our juries, taken for the purpose from among the people; the archons only presiding in the manner of our judges, and sometimes carrying the business through the necessary steps preparatory to the determination of a jury, as in our courts of Westminster-hall. But the archons being appointed by lot, and consequently often very insufficient for such business, it was usual for each to chuse two persons of experience to assist him in his office. These, in time, became regular constitutional officers by the name of Paredri, assessors; undergoing the same probation as the archons themselves before entering on their office, and the same scrutiny at its conclusion. The manner of appointing the jurors was thus. A small pay from the treasury induced those who had leisure to offer themselves. Any Athenian, above thirty years of age, and not under any legal

' sepe eorum decreta rescidisse, memorantur;  
' & sine eorum approbatione nihil omnino  
' majoris momenti Athenis, ante deminutam  
' eorum per Ephialtem auctoritatem, de re-  
' publica unquam decernebatur (1). Totam  
' igitur, ut paucis dicam, regebant rempub-

' licam (2). Tamque necessarium ad illam  
' recte instituendam eorum semper videbatur  
' consilium, ut de illis dicat Cicero Athe-  
' nienfium rempublicam non magis posse sine  
' Areopagi consilio, quam mundum sine pro-  
' videntia Dei, administrari (3).

(1) Demosthen. in or. con. Androtionem.  
tione Evandri.

(3) M. T. Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 2.

(2) Suidas in voc. "Ἀρειος πάγος, & Lyfias in or. de proba-



disqualification, delivered his name and legal description to the thesmothete archons; and these assigned the jurors to the different courts by lot. This is that department in the machine of government which ought to belong to the people at large. It is that for which they are most competent, and the security of property and equal liberty requires that they should alone possess it.

To save the inhabitants of the country from the inconvenient necessity of going to Athens for justice in cases of inferior consequence, itinerant judges, called the Forty, were appointed to go through the demi, with power to determine actions of assault, and controversies of property under a certain value\*.

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to MILITARY SERVICE. The abundance of slaves in them all made this both practicable and necessary, which in countries without slaves would be neither. The slaves by their labor supported the freemen in arms; and the practice of arms was indispensable for every freeman, if it were only to preserve that ascendant over the superior number of the slaves, without which property, freedom, and life itself would be utterly insecure. Every free Athenian therefore, at the age of eighteen, was enrolled among the military. His duty, for the first two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. The city-guard of Athens was chiefly of youths under twenty. After that age till forty he was legally compellable to any foreign service that the affairs of the commonwealth required. Rank and property made no other distinction than giving the privilege to serve on horseback; which was at the same time a privilege and a burthen; for in Attica, as in most of the Grecian commonwealths, every man of competent property was bound to provide and maintain a horse for public service.

\* This account of the Athenian constitution has been taken almost intirely from Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject more deeply will of course consult that valuable work, and the numerous authorities there

quoted. Petit's collection of Attic Laws, with his diffuse comment on them, may perhaps then attract their attention. As the Archbishop's work is in everybody's hands, I have thought it unnecessary to repeat the authorities.

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P. 68. of this  
Vol.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 11.

The Greeks made a great distinction between the heavy and the light-armed foot; the former termed Hoplites, the other Pílos. The Hoplites wore that nearly complete armour described in treating of the Homeric age: he carried a large shield, and his principal weapon was a long spear. The usual formation of this heavy foot was in a large compact body, termed Phalanx, in which the files were seldom of fewer than eight men. The Pílos on the contrary had very imperfect defensive armour; he carried missile weapons, and no shield. He was therefore little capable of engaging in close fight with the Hoplites. Free citizens only were allowed to serve in the heavy foot. The light-armed were chiefly slaves, who attended upon the Hoplitæ, and who alone generally did all duties of mere fatigue. They were esteemed, as soldiers, so inferior to the heavy foot, that it was usual, in reporting the numbers of Grecian armies, to reckon the heavy foot only, tho commonly attended by at least an equal number of Píli. Upon one great occasion we read of a Lacedæmonian army in which no less than seven slaves, all doing duty as light-armed soldiers, attended upon every Spartan Hoplites. But tho the Lacedæmonians, and in general the Peloponnesians, would serve as heavy foot in close fight only, yet the Athenians, and apparently most of the northern Greeks, did not disdain the occasional practice of missile weapons. They then took a smaller shield, termed Pelta; and hence arose a middle order of soldiers between the heavy and the light-armed, called Peltastæ, who carried missile weapons, yet were not incapable of close fight.

At Athens democratic jealousy occasioned a very inconvenient system of military command. What were the military institutions of Solon we should wish to know, because he was himself a military man of some experience. Probably when he lessened the civil power of the college of archons, the military authority of the polemarch was also abridged; for in the end we find that officer merely a civil magistrate, having peculiar jurisdiction over the metoikoi, those numerous free inhabitants of Attica who were not Athenian citizens. But we are not informed what was the military establishment of

Solon's

Solon's time. When afterward the Athenian tribes were increased to ten, every tribe had its own military commander. Ten generals, therefore, with equal rank, commanded the forces of the Athenian commonwealth. All were not sent together on foreign expeditions: but at home, on ordinary occasions, each commanded his day in turn; the ten forming a council of war to decide on emergencies. The inconveniencies of this system were often felt; and on some great occasions the command in chief was, by a particular decree of the people, intrusted to one person: but the appointment of ten generals from the ten tribes, with equal authority, remained always the established system of Athens.

The composition of Grecian armies, and the subordination of command in them, appear to have been generally very regular: but in little particulars they differed so much in different ages, and in different republics in the same age, that it is impossible now to ascertain what was at any time the exact formation of the Athenian phalanx, or indeed of that of any other republic. The account given of the Spartan army may however serve to convey an idea of the Grecian system in general. The Spartan discipline differed from that of the other commonwealths; but its most characteristic difference seems to have been that it was more perfect\*.

\* Guischart, the ablest modern interpreter of the ancient military writers, has the following remarks in a note (1) to his Translation of Arrian's Tactics: ' Je doute si les interprètes et les traducteurs entendent les manœuvres que Xenophon décrit, et celles qu'il détaille, dans le troisième livre (of the Anabasis) quand il parle des dispositions qu'on fit pour la marche des troupes. La tactique de Thucydide et de Xenophon est différente de celle du tems d'Alexandre le grand. Les termes qui designent les corps n'étoient plus les mêmes, et il y eut une autre disposition de sections. Faute d'y donner attention on ne peut que s'embrouiller.' It may be proper to add here the observation that the term *Lochos*, which with the Lacedæmonians signified a body of

men composed of many files (according to Thucydides (2) generally of sixty-four) among the other Greeks was synonymous with *σῆμα*, and was the more common word of the two to express simply a File (3). Accordingly the term *Λοχαγός*, which with the Lacedæmonians was the title of an officer of considerable rank, whose command was of above five hundred men, with the other Greeks meant no more than the file-leader, a common foldier. The term *Enomotia*, originally peculiar to the Lacedæmonians and signifying a body, generally of thirty-two men, formed in four files, was also adopted by the other Greeks to signify a division of their *σῆμα* or file, perhaps commonly of not more than four men. See Arrian. *Tact.* p. 20.

(1) P. 119. note g. (2) Thucyd. l. v. c. 68.

(3) Arrian. *Tact.* p. 18 & 20. ed. Amstel. & Lipsz. 1750, & Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* l. iv.

## SECTION V.

*The History of Athens from the Legislation of Solon to the Expulsion of the Peisistratids and the first public Transaction with Persia.*

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Plut. Solon.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 29.  
Proclus in Ti-  
maum, l. i.

SOLON, not contented with giving his country a constitution perhaps the most perfect that can consist with democracy, and establishing a jurisprudence not only far superior to what had before been known in Greece, but which has been a model for all subsequent times, was anxious to have all his fellowcountrymen satisfied that what he had done was the best that could be done, and thence to insure its permanency. Naturally mild and open in his manners, he was free of access to all; and confident both in the goodness of his cause, and in his own powers of argument and persuasion, he encouraged conversation upon his institutions and discussion of their merit; professing always willingness to alter whatsoever could be clearly proved capable of amendment. But he soon found that he had thus engaged in an endless business. At the same time therefore to deliver himself from the wearying importunity of others, to give a relaxation to his mind which it now wanted, and to afford means to his great work of settling into firmness, he determined to travel: and such was his influence, he procured a promise, solemnly confirmed by oath from all the people, that they would change nothing of his institutions for ten years. With such a trial, he said, there would be competent experience of their advantages and disadvantages; and whatever alterations were wanting, might then be made with greater certainty of altering for the better. Having effected this he left Athens.

Solon was so superior in general interest and influence among his fellowcountrymen, that, while he remained, no other could hope for any comparable consideration. But in all governments there must be leaders; in popular governments there will be parties; and if honest

nest men want either abilities or activity to put themselves forward, the dishonest will not be backward. Soon after the departure of Solon the three parties of the lowlands, the highlands, and the coast, began to reappear. These were in fact the party of the rich, who wanted to hold all political power in their own hands, and keep the lower people in absolute subjection, as now in the Venetian and Genoese republics; the democratical party, who, with great zeal for equality, were the readiest instruments of despotism; and the party of sensible and moderate men, who, tho weaker than either of the others, were capable of holding the balance between them. This party derived great support from the powerful family of the Alcmaeonids; of whom Megacles, now the chief, had greatly increased the ancient wealth and splendor of his house by marrying Agariste, daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon; and he had acquired fame by victories in the Olympian, Pythian and Isthmian games. At the head of the oligarchal party was Lycurgus son of Aristolaides. The democratical was principally influenced by Peisistratus, a young man of a very ancient and honorable family, claiming descent from Codrus, and through him tracing their pedigree to Nestor and the Pylian kings of that very early age where Homer first takes up History. To extraordinary abilities and a daring spirit Peisistratus added the most engaging manners; and he had distinguished himself in several military enterprizes, particularly in taking Nisæa the seaport of the Megareans. When Solon, after an absence of ten years, returned to Athens, these parties divided the whole people. Immediately the legislator informed himself of the state of affairs, conversed with the chiefs, and endeavoured to moderate the spirit of opposition, both in them and in their followers. But already prejudices for the principles of their several factions were become rooted, and attachment to their leaders another self-interest. Solon, now very old, was less able to direct the helm of government in a storm; the leaders of the factions continued their opposition; and at length Peisistratus, by an artifice, became master of the commonwealth. Wounding himself and his

mules,

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Pist. Solon.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 59, & l. vi.  
c. 126 & seq.

Pindar. Pyth.  
vii.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 65.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 59.

Plutarch. v.  
Solon.  
Diog. Laert.  
v. Solon.

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SECT. V.

Herodot. l. i.

c. 59.

Plut. v. Solon.

Justin. l. 2.

c. 8.

mules, he drove his chariot violently into the agora, and pretended that, as he was going into the country, he had been waylaid. In a pathetic speech, for he was a most able orator, he told the people, ‘ It was for being their declared friend he thus suffered. They saw ‘ it was no longer safe for any man to be a friend to the poor ; they saw ‘ it was no longer safe for him to live in Attica, unless they would ‘ take him under that protection which he implored.’ Immediately Ariston, one of his partizans, proposed to decree to the friend of the people, the martyr of their cause, a guard of fifty men for the security of his person ; and so great was his popularity, and such the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, the decree was instantly passed ; in spite it is said of the opposition of Solon, who used his utmost endeavours to prevent it. Such is the story which has obtained. But it has come from the enemies of the family of Peisistratus ; and it seems at least equally probable that the attempt upon his life was real. We seem indeed warranted in this conjecture by the very accounts which speak of it as fictitious. For those accounts testify that the belief of a real attempt to assassinate him prevailed at Athens for a considerable time : we are not informed how the fraud was detected ; and had there ever been any detection of such gross knavery, it must have gone far to ruin the credit of Peisistratus, which, during his life, certainly never was ruined. But a real attempt of such a kind could not fail to increase, if not the extent of his popularity, at least the zeal of his party ; and thus the decree for guards might be obtained, even in opposition to the remonstrances of Solon, in a manner more consistent with the forms of the Athenian constitution, and with probability, than the defective accounts of the Greek historians seem to imply. On this point however we can only chuse our belief in the dark. What stands ascertained is, that Peisistratus with his guards seized the citadel ; that his party still supported him ; and that their opponents were forced, part into exile, the rest to submission. Peisistratus, as leader of the prevailing

railing party, was of course the first man of the commonwealth, and from this time he is called by historians Tyrant of Athens.

The term Tyrant, among the Greeks, had a very different signification from what it now bears in all modern languages. It meant a citizen of a republic, who by any means acquired sovereignty over his fellow-citizens. Many of the Grecian tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed. Thus they differed widely from Tyrants in the modern acceptation of the word. But some even were raised to the dignity of tyrant by a voluntary decree of the people themselves. Plutarch mentions particular Tynnondas thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pittacus by the Mitylenæans; and he says the Athenians would so have elected Solon. Usurper therefore is not a convertible term: tho in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favoring Party among the people, no man could rise to the tyranny: therefore a man of universal bad character could not become a tyrant. But the violence of faction among the Greeks was extreme: enormous severities were frequently practised against a defeated party: perhaps most enormous when the prevailing one was not headed by a tyrant; who might have authority to restrain private malice and check popular fury. A citizen, however, irregularly raised to sovereignty over his fellow-citizens, would often find himself very insecure in his exaltation. Popular favor, and party favor, which is a more confined popular favor, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command; and even great abilities united with fortunate circumstances would with difficulty, in such a situation, avoid the necessity of occasional severity; weak minds and morose tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. The outcry against tyrants then has been first raised by the disappointment of faction; for among the ancients the appellation was arbitrarily applied; the person to whom it was given being often really no more than the leader of a faction; and sometimes, as we have just seen, a sovereign by the best of all rights,

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SECT. V.

Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

Plutarch. Solon.  
Vid. et  
Ant. Polit.  
l. iii. c. 14.

the

CHAP. VI. the voice of the people. But most commonly tyrants were more or  
 SECT. V. less usurpers of power which the laws of their country forbade;  
 and too frequently severities were used, sometimes atrocious crimes  
 perpetrated, to acquire that power or to retain it. Hence alone the  
 modern acceptance of the term Tyrant, from which it is necessary to  
 distinguish the ancient.

Herodot. l. i. c. 59.  
 Plut. Solon. It is expressly said by Herodotus, and confirmed by all succeeding  
 writers, that Peisistratus changed nothing in the Athenian consti-  
 tution. All the laws continued in force; the assembly, council,  
 courts of justice, and all the magistracies remained with their consti-  
 tutional powers; he himself obeyed a citation from the areopagus up-  
 on a charge of murder. We are not assured that he even retained his  
 guards; but it appears probable. It was usual for those called tyrants  
 among the Greeks to have guards; and the distinguishing name of  
 doryphori, spearbearers, became attached to them, as that of toxotæ,  
 bowmen, to the armed attendants of the regular magistrates. But even  
 this was not a necessary characteristic; for in the preceding age, Cyp-  
 selus, who was notwithstanding always termed tyrant of Corinth, so  
 intirely trusted in the affection of his fellowcitizens that he never  
 would have guards. It appears not how such a tyrant differs, but in  
 title, from those patriots of succeeding times whose abilities and vir-  
 tues placed them at the head of a commonwealth without any such  
 invidious appellation. Perhaps however they have also thus far gene-  
 rally differed in fortune, that the history of the latter has been trans-  
 mitted to posterity by those of the same faction, that of the former  
 by those of the opposite faction\*.

Aristot. Polit.  
 l. v. c. 12.  
 Plut. Solon.

\* Even Aristotle is scarcely always consistent in applying the term Tyrant. In one part of his treatise on government (1) he observes that a guard is proper both to legal kings and to tyrants; and he mentions it as a characteristic distinction between the two, that kings had subjects for guards, tyrants foreigners. Yet in the same treatise (2) he calls Cyp-

selus Tyrant of Corinth, tho, he tells us, Cypselus never would have any guard. It appears clearly that Cypselus in fact was a demagogue, and never properly a tyrant. But the party in opposition to his family prevailing at length against his grandson, it became popular at Corinth to give the title of tyrant to Cypselus himself.

(1) B. iii. c. 14.

(2) B. v. c. 12.



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Plut. Solon.

Peisistratus was by every account a man singularly formed for empire. Solon himself is reported to have said of him, ‘ Take away only his ambition ; cure him of his lust of reigning, and there is not a man more naturally disposed to every virtue, nor a better citizen.’ We have however no satisfactory account of the conduct of the great lawgiver upon this important occasion ; party-spirit having mutilated and deformed the traditions of these transactions. It became the temper of succeeding times to brand the memory of Peisistratus ; but the character of Solon was not to be involved in the reproach. It was therefore necessary to account for his want of authority and influence for preventing the usurpation, and to apologize for his acquiescence under it ; neither of which has been adequately done. Plutarch relates some anecdotes very much to the credit of his spirit, but very little to that of his wisdom and the influence which should have attended it : for the Athenians, it seems, were so satisfied with Peisistratus that they utterly disregarded all their venerable legislator’s remonstrances. His friends arguing with him, we are told, upon his imprudent freedom of speech upon all occasions, and asking to what he trusted for security against the vengeance of the tyrant, ‘ To my old age,’ he replied. But it was by other arts than those of iniquitous vengeance and cruel precaution that Peisistratus proposed to secure, as he had acquired his preëminence. Indeed what Plutarch himself proceeds to relate explains, in a great degree, what party-spirit had enveloped in contradiction and obscurity. Far from resenting any freedom in Solon’s conduct, Peisistratus treated him with the highest respect. The venerable sage, the unblemished patriot refused not the tyrant’s friendship ; but on the contrary lived with him in familiarity, and assisted him in the administration of the commonwealth. This is Plutarch’s testimony. Diogenes Laërtius, indeed, says that Solon having long braved the tyrant’s vengeance, and finding the Athenians so lost to all sense of honor that all his efforts could not excite them to attempt the recovery of their freedom, left Athens, and never returned more. He

Plut. v. Solon. & Diog. Laert. v. Solon.

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even gives letters said to have passed between the legislator and the tyrant. But Plutarch certainly believed those letters to be forgeries; and even if they were true, they confirm the concurrent testimony of all antiquity to the excellence of the character of Peisistratus, and his unblameable conduct in the administration of the affairs of Athens.

We are not informed at what time the Athenians recovered Salamis after its second revolt to the Megareans. Among the discordant accounts of historians, all agree that Solon retook it when he was a young man, and long before he was appointed legislator. But many attribute the retaking of it to Peisistratus with Solon. This could hardly be when Solon was a young man, nor before his legislation. We have only conjecture for supposing that it might be after the establishment of Peisistratus in what is called his tyranny.

Herod. l. i.  
c. 60.

Plutarch reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Peisistratus. That usurper, if he was such, fell soon after from his high situation. The depressed rival chiefs, Megacles and Lycurgus, uniting their strength, expelled him. This appears fresh proof in favor of Peisistratus. He flourished and enjoyed Solon's friendship while Solon lived: when he had lost that excellent man's support his opponents acquired the superiority. But the confederated rivals could not long agree. Megacles sent proposals of reconciliation to Peisistratus; and, at the same time to evince his sincerity and to insure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. The banished chief accepted the condition. But a majority in the Athenian assembly must be procured to favor their views, or all their private compacts would be vain. The account given by Herodotus of the manner in which this was effected is among the strangest in all history; yet that historian lived so nearly within memory of the event, the story is so little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of so public a nature, that, tho party prejudice is likely enough to have disguised it, we scarcely can suppose

suppose it wholly unfounded. Indeed Herodotus himself calls it the simplest trick he ever heard of: yet it appears that many ancient writers gave it credit, and, such as it is related to us, it might be not unaccommodated to the prejudices, the imagination, and the disposition of those on whom the united chiefs meant to work. They found, we are told, in the Peanian demos, a woman named Phya, of low birth, and by occupation a garland-feller, but of very extraordinary stature, and at the same time well-proportioned and handsome. This woman they dressed in a complete suit of armour, with every ornament that could add grace and splendor to a fine natural figure; and seating her in a magnificent chariot, they drove into the city, heralds preceding who proclaimed, ‘O Athenians, with willing minds receive Peisistratus, whom Minerva, honoring above all men, herself conducts into your citadel.’ The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Peisistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

It has been supposed by some that Strabo held the authority of Herodotus for nothing; and the treatise remains which Plutarch composed purposely to decry his credit. But Strabo’s expression has been alleged to prove very much more than it meant. The geographer follows and confirms Herodotus in numberless instances; and Plutarch’s treatise tends strongly to prove him impartial without proving him in any instance false. The whole tenor, indeed, of Herodotus’s narration shows him a man of great curiosity, but great modesty, and perfect honesty. Doubtful of his own opinion, and scrupulously cautious of misleading others, he thinks it his duty to relate all reports, but with express and repeated warning to his readers to use their own judgement for determining their belief\*. Hence indeed his authority is sometimes hazardous. But generally

\* Ταῖς οὖν πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων λειτουργίαν χράσθαι ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἐφάδω λέγειν τὰ λαβόντα, πείθεισά τε γὰρ ἐν πανταπασι ἑαυτὰ καὶ μοι γὰρ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον. Herodot. l. vii. c. 152.

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the simplicity of his manner detects itself, and, with the assistance of circumstances collateral to the story, sufficiently indicates where he deserves credit, and where neglect \*. The public nature of the facts may be a degree of testimony to the strange story just related. Consonance to the characters of persons concerned will form an additional test. Both of these are totally wanting to the account which Herodotus proceeds to give of a domestic quarrel said to have occasioned the second expulsion of Peisistratus. No more therefore seems ascertained to us upon sufficient historical grounds, than that Peisistratus did retire to Eretria in Eubœa; leaving the Alcæonids, so the partizans of Megacles were called, masters of Athens.

But even in banishment the consideration and influence of Peisistratus were great. He received presents and loans to a large amount from the states with which he had formed an interest during his administration of Athens. He continued to strengthen these connections; and at length assembled a military force with which, in the eleventh year of this his second banishment, he returned into Attica. Immediately he made himself master of Marathon. Hither his remaining partizans in Athens flocked to his standard; together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, 'preferred tyranny to liberty;' † that is, it should seem, to whom that called, by those of the opposite faction, the tyranny of Peisistratus, would give freedom, whereas the administration of the Alcæonids was real tyranny to them; for in no other acceptation does the expression appear intelligible. The Alcæonids, after some imprudent delay, led an army from the city. But it was ill disciplined and ill commanded. Peisistratus attacked them by surprise.

\* The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has characterized Herodotus with his usual liveliness of expression: 'Herodotus,' he says, 'sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers (1).' It is really the simplicity of Herodotus that

makes him often unfit for children. He has few pages from which the philosopher may not profit.

† Οἷον ἡ τυραννὶς ἀπὸ λαοβίτης ἢ ἀσπαρτίσης. Herodot. l. i. c. 62.

(1) Chap. xxiv. note 5a.

The rout was immediate. With his usual presence of mind, and with a humanity the more admirable as it was then uncommon, Peisistratus instantly stopped the slaughter; and sending some horse after the fugitives, proclaimed that 'None need fear who would go quietly to their homes: Peisistratus promised safety to their persons and property.' The known clemency and honor of the chief procured general obedience to the proclamation: the principal Alcæonids fled; and Peisistratus entered Athens unopposed.

It does not appear that even now any fundamental change was made in the Athenian constitution, or any unwarrantable step taken to secure the leader's power. As head of the prevailing party he had of course the principal influence in the government. His abilities might have given him that preëminence in any free state. A particular interest with several neighbouring states, especially with Thebes and Argos, and a wise and liberal use of a very great private property, are what he seems besides mostly to have confided in. Some measures were necessary to insure peaceable demeanour from those partizans of the Alcæonids who had not fled their country. None, however, were injured in their persons; their children only were kept as hostages, and themselves sent to inhabit the island of Naxos; which Peisistratus subdued, and committed to the government of Lygdamis, a Naxian, who had assisted him with men and money for his invasion of Attica. This may appear arbitrary; but if compared with what we shall hereafter find usual in revolutions of Grecian cities, it was singularly mild; inasmuch that we may be perhaps induced to impute the severity of the measure to the prevailing party at large, and the mildness intirely to the chief. Peisistratus also established an Athenian colony at Sigæum on the Hellespont, not without sustaining a war with the Mitylenæans of Lesbos, who claimed the territory. It was upon occasion of a victory gained by the Athenians in this war that the poet Alcæus, a principal citizen and head of a faction at Mitylene, incurred the disgrace of quitting his arms for

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 61.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 94, 95.

CHAP. VI. for quicker flight. The enemy finding these spoils, suspended them  
 SECT. V. as a trophy in the temple of Minerva at Sigeum.

Plut. v. Solon.  
 & Apopoth.  
 Diog. Laert.  
 v. Solon. &  
 al. ap. Jo.  
 Meurf. in  
 Pissid.

Many anecdotes are preserved of Peisistratus very highly to the advantage of his character. His mildness, patience, and forbearance make a striking feature in it. His kindness to the poor and distressed was not a dissembled virtue, assumed for the advancement of his ambitious views, but was conspicuous through his life. Many of his laws and regulations, highly advantageous to his country, became a part of its constitution. Finding an increasing disposition in the Athenians to neglect rural employments and crowd into the city, he took every method to discourage this, and promote agriculture, in which he was very liberal of his own purse; especially if by the same act he could reward merit or relieve distress. The laws against idleness, attributed by some to Solon, are also ascribed to Peisistratus. The law decreeing a public provision for the wounded in their country's service is referred to him alone. He was eminent for love of learning and the fine arts. He is said to have founded the first public library known in the world; and the first complete collection and digestion of Homer's poems is by Cicero attributed to him. That great orator speaks also of his eloquence in the highest terms; as the first model of that sublime and polished rhetoric, in which, as in most other arts, Greece has been mistress of the world. Tho Peisistratus discouraged that increasing population of the capital which was hurtful to the country, yet he improved the city, and adorned it with splendid public buildings. He is said to have been the first who ever laid out a garden for public use. He continued to direct the administration of Athens with great wisdom, and with the esteem of all men, during life, and at an advanced age he died in peace.

De Orat. l. iii.  
 & Brutus.

Whatsoever the authority of Peisistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means supported, and in whatsoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death his influence descended to sons worthy of such a father: but so intirely was the administration of the republic still conducted accord-

ing

ing to the forms prescribed by the constitution, that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Peisistratus and his successors kings and tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his successor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of the persons concerned, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as sons of Peisistratus, without saying which was the elder or the superior. The accurate Thucydides, a few years only later, informs us that common report in his time made Hipparchus the successor; but erroneously he says, for Hippias was the elder: yet, shortly after, Plato, concurring with that common report which Thucydides had judged erroneous, calls Hipparchus the elder. However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magistracies\*. But that power which the favor of their party gave them they used in every instance beneficially for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted to us, on no less authority than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. Such were his virtues, his abilities and his diligence, that the philosopher does not scruple to say the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus however introduced them more generally to the knowledge of the Athenians, by directing that a public recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the festival of Panathenæa. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos and Simonides of Ceos to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Desirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellowcountrymen, while books were yet few, and copies not easily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, with short moral sentences engraved on the sides, to be erected in the

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Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 20. & l. vi.  
c. 54.

Plato. Hip-  
parch.

Plato. Hip-  
parch.  
Elian. var.  
Hist. l. viii.  
c. 2.

Plato. Hip-  
parch.

\* Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τοῖς κειμένοις ἔρχετο, πολλὰ καθέσεν ἀλλὰ τινα ἐπιτέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἵσαι. Thucyd. l. vi. c. 54.

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streets and principal highways through Attica. Such are the anecdotes remaining of Hipparchus. Hippias was at the same time laudably active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his superintendency the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burthensome offices, which before none could avoid. He prosecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rise principally under the Peisistratids. The administration of the commonwealth was at the same time conducted, in peace and in war, happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, ‘Those tyrants singularly cultivated wisdom and virtue.’\*

Thucyd. l. vi.  
c. 54 & seq.

Plato. Hip-  
parch.  
Justin. l. ii.  
c. 9.

The circumstances which caused the death of Hipparchus, whence followed the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common in conspiracies, wrapt in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must suppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens: yet did not satisfy Plato, who relates a different story. Succeeding writers have differed from both. But there is one circumstance of principal historical consequence in which all agree. It was private revenge, and not any political motive, that induced Aristogeiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to conspire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the feast of Panathenæa; because, part of the ceremony consisting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They engaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to suppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias while he was directing the ceremony in the Ceramicus, a place in the

\* *Ἐπιτηδεύσαντες ἐκπαιδεύσαντες δὲ τήναιον ἑταίροι ἀρίστους καὶ ἐλευθεροὺς.* Thucyd. l. vi. c. 54.



suburbs: but as they approached him they saw one of their fellow-conspirators familiarly conversing with him: for, says Thucydides, Hippias was easy of access to all \*. This gave them a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they suddenly resolved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the city-walls. Here they so far succeeded as to kill Hipparchus; but Harmodius was also killed on the spot. Aristogeiton escaped the guards who attended Hipparchus, but, being taken by the people, was not mildly treated. Such is Thucydides's expression †.

Now it was that the tyranny properly began. So Plato expressly says ‡. Anger at so atrocious a deed, together with uncertainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to severities. Many Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to the former course was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellowcountrymen became necessary, not merely to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking all around, therefore, for means of increasing his interest in foreign states, he married his only daughter to Æantides, son of Hippocles, tyrant of Lampsacus. Her epitaph recorded by Thucydides, remarkable for an elegant simplicity of panegyric not totally lost even in a literal prose translation, proves how little the title of tyrant was then a term of reproach: 'This dust,' it says, 'covers Archedice, daughter of Hippias, in his time the first of the Greeks. Daughter, sister, wife, and mother of tyrants, her mind was never elated to arrogance.'

Thucyd. l. vi.  
c. 59.

\* *ἦν δὲ πάλιν ἀπεχόμενος ὁ Ἱππίας.* Thucyd. l. vi. c. 57.

† *Οἱ παῖδες ἀντιόχου.* The stories told by later writers, Seneca, Polyænus, Justin, and others, both of Aristogeiton, and of his mistress Leona, are totally destitute of that testimony which we might expect from authors nearly cotemporary. Indeed it seems not too much

to assert that they are evidently fables. See Pausanias, b. i. c. 23.

‡ *καὶ πάντων ἀντὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἥτορ σκεῖν ταῦτα μόνα τὰ (νομία) ἐν τῇ τυραννίᾳ ἔγχετο· τὸν δ' ἄλλου χρόνου ἔργον τι ἴσον Ἀθηναίων ὥσπερ ἐντὶ Κερκυραίωνος.* Plato, Hipparch. Harmodion; and Thucydides had before borne nearly the same testimony, tho' in less emphatical terms.

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Herodot. l. v.  
c. 62.Herodot. ut  
sup.  
Pindar. Pyth.  
vii.Herodot. l. v.  
c. 63.

The Alcmaeonids, ejected by Peisistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partisans of the family. They had settled themselves at Lipsydrium above Pæonia, so Herodotus describes the place, and had fortified it. But their hopes did not rest there: they were unceasingly watchful for opportunities to recover Athens. With this object in view, they omitted no means of preserving and increasing their consideration among the Grecian states. It happened that the temple of Delphi was burnt. The Amphictyons of course were to provide for the rebuilding of it. The Alcmaeonids offered for a certain sum to undertake the work. A contract was in consequence made with them, by which they were bound to erect a temple, according to a plan agreed upon, of Porine stone. It was no doubt a very desirable circumstance for an exiled family, objects of persecution to the rulers of a powerful state, thus to become connected with so respectable a body as the Amphictyons. But they took the opportunity to make all Greece in a manner their debtors, and even to involve the divinity of the place in an obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the sumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole front of the temple of Parian marble. Another advantage, however, of still greater importance, they derived, as common report went in Herodotus's time, from ingaging in this business. They found means to corrupt the managers of the oracle; in consequence of which, whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedæmon to the god of Delphi, the answer constantly concluded with an admonition to the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. This artifice at length had the desired effect. Tho Lacedæmon was in particular alliance with the Peisistratids, bound to them moreover by the sacred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only was first sent under Anchimolius. It was defeated, and the commander slain. But the Alcmaeonid party was now gaining strength: the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedæmonians, irritated by their loss and disgrace,

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disgrace, prepared earnestly for revenge. They sent a larger army into Attica under their king Cleomenes. It was joined by the Alcæonids; and both together were so superior to the forces of Hippias, that siege was laid to Athens. They had however little hope of taking the city, when fortune gave it to them. Hippias and his principal partizans, fearing the consequences of the turn of popular favor against them, sent their children out of the garrison to be conveyed to a place of safety. They fell into the enemy's hands; and the fathers, unable by any other means to save them, consented to surrender Athens and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegesistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Peisistratus.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 65 & 94.  
Thucyd. l. vi.  
c. 58.

The Lacedæmonians were at this time by far the first people of Greece. Bound by their singular laws to a kind of monkish poverty, their ambition was unbounded. Masters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, they in a great degree commanded Peloponnesus. Still they watched every opportunity to extend their power. Whenever the Grecian states had war with one another, or sedition within themselves, the Lacedæmonians were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the business wisely, and with great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority, or at least the influence of their state. One measure which they constantly practised for this purpose was to favor aristocratical power; or rather, wherever they could, to establish an oligarchy: for in almost every Grecian city there was an aristocratical or oligarchal, and a democratical faction; and a few chiefs indebted to Lacedæmon for their situation, and generally unable to retain it without her assistance, would be the readiest instruments for holding their state in what, termed alliance, was always, in some degree, subjection.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 454.  
& 490. t. ii.  
ed. Par. Auger.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 460.  
t. ii.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions, which quickly arose there, gave abundant opportunity. By

CHAP. VI.  
SECT. V.Herodot. l. v.  
c. 66, 67.Herodot. l. v.  
c. 70.

the late revolution, Cleisthenes, son of Megacles, now head of the Alcmaeonids, was of course the first person of the commonwealth. But he was not a man of those superior abilities necessary to hold the sway in a turbulent democracy. A party was soon formed against him under Isagoras, with whom most of the principal Athenians sided. The resource of Cleisthenes was therefore among the lower people. These being all-powerful in the general assembly, by their means he made some alterations in the constitution, favorable to his own influence: particularly he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; instead of four, making the number of tribes ten, to which he gave entirely new names. It appears from Herodotus that Cleisthenes was at this time not less tyrant of Athens than Peisistratus had been. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal\*. In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory, or exile, and sometimes death. We must not wonder therefore, if the inferior party sometimes resorted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedaemon. Cleomenes, violent in his temper, but of considerable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Immediately entering into the interest of Isagoras, he sent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Cleisthenes and others of the Alcmaeonids, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the sacrilegious execution of the partizans of Cylon. Cleisthenes obeyed the decree. Encouraged by such proof of the respect or dread in which the Spartan power was

\* *Ὅς γὰρ ὅτι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὄμιλον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱπποκλέους, τότε καὶ αὐτὰ σφίσι τῶν ἱπποκλέους μέγιστον ἀποσπασάμενος, τὰς τε ἀγέρας μετέβαλεν, καὶ ἵππων πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν, κ. τ. λ., ὅς τε τῶν ἑκποσπασμένων ἀπὸ τῶν κατεστῆκε τῶν ἀριστοκρατῶν.* Herodot. l. v. c. 67. This honest passage gives great insight into the state of party-politics at Athens at the time, and affords a material part of the clue necessary for tracing them through following times. It is remarkably to the credit of Herodotus, and extraordinary that it should have been so little noticed, or rather so totally unnoticed, by writers who have criticized

him, that whatever he has said upon that delicate and difficult subject the domestic politics of Athens, and indeed of all Greece, is perfectly consonant to the unquestionable authority of Thucydides: the two writers mutually reflect light upon one another. Herodotus opens the scene; and whoever will take the pains to connect his desultory yet amusing narration, will find him not an unworthy forerunner of Thucydides and Xenophon, who with more art and judgement lead us to the catastrophe.

held,

CHAP. VI.  
SECT. V.Herodot. l. v.  
c. 72.  
Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 125.

held, Cleomenes thought the season favorable for making that change in the Athenian constitution which would suit the views of Spartan ambition. He went to Athens, attended by a small military force, and at once banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of five hundred, and to commit the whole power of the commonwealth to a new council consisting of three hundred, all partizans of Isagoras. But Athens was not so far prepared for subjection. The five hundred both refused themselves to submit, and excited the people to opposition. The people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras, taking refuge in the citadel, were besieged there two days. On the third they surrendered upon condition that the Lacedæmonians might depart in safety. Isagoras went with them; but many Athenians of his party were executed. Cleisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Those who now took the lead in the Athenian government, tho without opposition at home, were in extreme apprehension of the consequences of such a breach with Lacedæmon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving them effectual support, they sent ambassadors to Sardis to endeavour to form an alliance with Artaphernes the Persian satrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and the European Greeks. The satrap received the deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that haughtiness which might be expected. Having admitted them to audience, he asked who they were, and from what part of the world they came, that they desired alliance with the Persians? Being informed, he answered them very shortly, 'That if they would give earth and water to king Darius,' the usual ceremony among the Persians in acknowledging subjection, 'they might be received into alliance; otherwise they must depart.' The ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger of their country, consented to those humiliating terms. Such was the first public transaction between Greece and Persia.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 73.

## CHAPTER

## CHAPTER VII.

View of the Nations politically connected with GREECE.

## SECTION I.

*View of the Nations politically connected with Greece: Lydia: Scythia: Assyria: Persia. Reduction of the Asiatic Greeks under the Persian Dominion by Cyrus.*

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AS the affairs of Greece now become essentially connected with those of that powerful empire which by rapid conquest had united under one dominion almost the whole of the civilized world, it will be necessary to take a short survey of the state of things in the surrounding nations; and particularly in those of the vast continent of Asia, whose transactions with the little country of Greece furnish some of the most remarkable and important events in the political history of mankind.

We have already observed that riches and arts were earlier known in Asia Minor than in Greece. Before the Trojan war Phrygia was famed among the Greeks for wealth. LYDIA succeeded to its reputation. In this province is the mountain Tmolus, anciently abounding with gold, which the torrent-river Pactolus brought down from the craggy summits, so that a rude people might easily collect it. Hence at the foot of Tmolus, on the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia. Gold, to which all the nations of the old world, even in their rudest ages, seem almost instinctively to have attributed a mysterious value, while the original Americans, of any people known to have long possessed it, have alone given it an estimation nearly proportioned to its intrinsic worth; gold has not always those pernicious effects which speculative philosophers have been fond of attributing

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 95.  
Strabo, l. xiii.  
p. 625.

to



to it. Gold was, to the Lydians, the spring of industry, of knowledge, we may add of virtue, if it be truly said that virtue consists in action. No doubt it was also the spring of vice; for so things are constituted in this world, that there almost only can be active virtue where is vice. The Lydians, as we have heretofore had occasion to remark, appear to have derived their origin from the same hords who peopled Greece. Their laws and manners, to the time of Herodotus, were almost the same with those of the Greeks; and that historian mentions some circumstances in the progress of society in which they preceded neighbouring nations. They were the first people known to the Greeks to have exercised retail trades, and the first who struck coins of gold and silver. In all countries the arts of peace and war have flourished together. While the people of Lydia through industry were growing rich, the monarchs extended their dominion eastward as far as the river Halys. The small republics of the Grecian colonies could not be safe in the neighbourhood of such a potentate. They preserved little political connexion among themselves, and scarcely any with the parent states. Gyges, supposed to have reigned soon after the age of Lycurgus, first led an army against them. He found among them probably a knowledge of war, and a republican spirit of bravery, which the Asiatics in general did not possess; for he failed in his attempts upon Miletus and Smyrna, but he took Colophon. The weight however of the Lydian kingdom, perseveringly exerted, was too great for any of those little commonwealths to resist. Ardyes, son of Gyges, took Miletus and Priene.

Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 35, 74, 93 &  
94.

Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 14.

There are some parts of the world whose inhabitants, from earliest history, have differed from all others in circumstances and in manners, which they have preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. Of these the people of that vast country called SCYTHIA by the Greeks, and by the moderns Tartary, are particularly remarkable. The description that Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, gives of the Scythians, is equally just, as far as our knowledge goes, for all former

CHAP. VII. former and for all following ages. They wander over, rather than possess, a country of immense extent. Exercising no tillage, they claim no property in land: they hold in abhorrence and scorn the confinement of a fixed habitation, roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from pasture to pasture over their boundless wildernesses. In this vagabond life, not to steal from one another is almost their only law. Their desires commonly go no farther than for food, which their herds supply, and clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate makes peculiarly necessary. For the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean; and, tho' mostly plain, yet of extraordinary height above the level of the ocean; being bounded even on the south by mountains mostly covered with snow, while the tract northward is a continent of snow, their winters are of a severity unknown under the same latitude in other parts of the globe \*. Nature has therefore supplied the brute animals of those regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wrest such boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the ancient Scythians went thus far. Necessity drove them to the use of those furs for clothing which are become so extensively an article of useless, perhaps often pernicious luxury in milder climates †. Such a country, with such inhabitants, would little invite the ambition of others. But the Scythians, instinctively fond of wandering, were likely to be inspired with a desire to wander among the possessions of their more

## SECT. I.

Justin. l. ii.

c. 2.

Herodot. l. iv.

\* Herodotus's description of the Scythian winter is remarkable and probably just: *Διο χίμῃς δὲ ἄνθρωποι καὶ κύνες ἐκείνην πᾶσαν γὰρ ὥστε δὴ τι εἶναι ἵσταται μὴ ὅτιαι τὰς μάλιστα ἀσθενέας ἔχουσιν ὥστε, ὡς τὸν ὅλον ἔχουσιν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς, οὗτοι δὲ ἀνθρώποι περὶ τοὺς ποταμούς. Ἡ δὲ Σαλασσα περὶ τοὺς ποταμούς τὰς δὲ Κίμῃς καὶ τοὺς ποταμούς δὲ ἵστας τὰς ποταμούς Σκύθας κατεκρημνίσανται, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ κύνες πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ἵστας. Ὅτιον περὶ δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς διατείνονται γινώσκοντες τὰς δὲ ἱστίωνας τὴν ποταμὸν ἵστας. Ἡ δὲ Σαλασσα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν. Herodot. l. iv. c. 28.* As the climate of many parts of Europe is certainly become considerably milder since the

first accounts of it, so probably in Herodotus's time the severity of the Scythian climate may have exceeded anything now known under the same latitude even in America.

† England is perhaps of all countries in the northern temperate zone that in which furs are least used. It is indeed the country in the world in which precaution of any kind against changes in the atmosphere is least known; in few countries less is necessary; and yet by a singular fate it is that in which those changes are most complained of.

settled



fettled neighbours. And tho their manner of life is little above that of brutes, yet it has always been that of gregarious brutes. They migrate in such multitudes that their progression is scarcely resistible. War was moreover peculiarly their delight; and mercy and human kindness were totally alien to their warfare. Scalping was practised by them nearly as by the American Indians. None could claim his share of plunder who had not an enemy's head to present to his chief. The scalp then became the warrior's favorite ornament for his own person, and that of his horse: the number he possessed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this testimonial of military merit none could be admitted to their principal feasts; where, as among our Scandinavian ancestors, probably their descendants, the skulls of slain enemies were the drinking cups. It is perhaps well for the historian's credit that we are assured, by unquestionable testimony, of the existence of such practices among later people\*.

Herodot. l. iv.  
c. 64, 65.

Thrice, in very early times, these ferocious vagabonds are said to have overrun Asia. But their irruptions had more the effect of a swarm of locusts, an inundation, or a hurricane, than of an expedition devised and conducted by the reason of men. While Ardyes reigned in Lydia there happened a migration from those rugged climates. A Scythian hord drove a Cimmerian hord, apparently of not very dissimilar manners, from their country. The conquerors pursuing eastward, entered Media, and overwhelmed that rich and powerful kingdom. The

Ol. xxxvi.  
2.  
B. C. 635.  
N.  
Ol. xxxix.  
1.  
B. C. 624.  
B.  
Herodot. l. i.  
c. 15, & l. iv.  
c. 1.

\* This sketch of so singular a portion of mankind was penned before the author had seen the finished picture of the same people by the masterly hand of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It has been observed by more than one great historian that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for any thing material to other books (1). Sensible of the truth of this remark, the author has found himself under peculiar difficulty in the necessity of giving some account of the Scythians. He scrupled the transcription of a long passage from a history not only in the

hands, but fresh in the memory of all Europe. The whole would indeed have been beyond his purpose: the selection of parts hazardous; and any appearance of a competition preposterous. He has therefore risked his original sketch, principally translated from Justin and Herodotus, which he hopes will be found not absolutely incompetent to its purpose; and it will certainly be imputed as a credit to those two writers that this sketch, as far as it goes, accords very completely with the elaborate account of the historian first-mentioned, who so singularly unites the liveliest manner with the most accurate diligence.

(1) Hume's Hist. of England; Appendix II. and Padre de Paolo Hist. Conc. Tyrid.

## CHAP. VII.

## SECT. I.

Ol. L. \*

B.C. 580.  
A.

Ol. xxxix.

4.

B.C. 621.  
B.Herodot. l. i.  
c. 17.

Cimmerians had avoided them by taking a more westerly course; and in their flight little less terrible to the nations among whom they came, than the Scythians had been to themselves, they overran Asia Minor. Sardis fell their prey; the citadel only withstanding them. Most of the Grecian cities suffered. But the plague was transitory. It came, it destroyed, it vanished; and things resumed nearly their former situation. The power of the Lydian monarchy was however shaken. Some of the Grecian states, Miletus particularly, appear to have recovered independency; for we find Sadyattes, son of Ardyes, toward the end of his reign, engaged in a war with the Milesians. It was continued or renewed by his son Halyattes. Miletus was then a rich and populous city; and while no greater potentate applied to marine affairs, the naval power of those little Grecian republics gave them consequence. A blockade of Miletus was vain while the sea remained open to its people; and any other mode of siege was at that time little known. The manner therefore in which the Lydian monarch carried on the war was thus. Marching into the Milesian territory a little before harvest, with all military pomp, to the sound of various musical instruments, he cut down all the corn, and destroyed all the vines, olives, and other valuable trees; sparing the buildings, that the people might have the better means of cultivating fresh harvests for him to carry off or destroy. The Milesians, venturing to take the field for the protection of their property, suffered two considerable defeats. The war however continued eleven years from its commencement under Sadyattes; and the Milesians still obstinately defended themselves. In the twelfth year Halyattes, being seized with a dangerous illness, was agitated with superstitious fear on account of the accidental burning of a temple of Minerva by his ravaging troops; and the Milesians, taking advantage of this circumstance, procured a peace.

\* The space of only three years allowed by Dr. Blair between the Scythian irruption and the Milesian war is inconsistent with the narration of Herodotus. Newton has not marked the date of the Milesian war; but according to

other circumstances which he has marked, it might have begun about the fiftieth Olympiad, where Herodotus's account would nearly bring it.

Cræsus son of Halyattes still advanced the power of the Lydian monarchy. He made all the Asian Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia, was master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys. He was an able and virtuous prince, who made himself not less beloved than feared; so that the Asian Greeks, finding their condition far from worse for their subjection to such a monarch, who allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and constitution, with the whole internal regulation of their little commonwealths, became attached to him as subjects to their legal hereditary sovereign\*. There had long been intercourse between Lydia and the continent of Greece. Sardis, as a mart, was an object for all nations within reach. Superstition chiefly led the Lydians to Greece: the reputation of the Delphian oracle was high among them; many presents from Lydian monarchs were, in the time of Herodotus, among the principal ornaments of its shrine. Gyges king of Lydia, that writer says, was the

\* This appears from the tenor of Herodotus's narration, and receives confirmation from Thucydides, who says that the Ionians flourished greatly and were very powerful till they were reduced by Cyrus after he had conquered Cræsus (1). Pindar's concise but emphatical eulogy speaks also strongly to the same purpose. The passage is remarkable:

——— Ὅστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀνέχμα δόξας  
Ὅσον ἀποιχεμένον ἀνδρῶν διαταῖαν μαίνει,  
καὶ λόγιος καὶ αἰδοῦς·  
Ὅς φθίνει Κροίσου φιλοφρονέετα,  
τὸν δὲ τάχα χαλκῶ καυτῆρα, πῶλ' αἶψα, ἴον,  
Ἐχέτω φάλαριν κατέχει παντὶ φάτι·  
Ὅστι μιν φέρει γῆρας ὑπερβύβριαι κοινωσίαν  
Μαλθακὰν πάλιν ἰάσσει διχόρται.  
Ἐὺ δὲ παῖδ' ἵνα το σῶπτον ἄδῃαν·  
Ἐὺ δ' ἀκούει διτίγῃ μὲν·  
Ἀμφοτέρωσι δ' αἶψα  
Ὅς ἂν ἐγκύσει καὶ ἔη,  
Στέφανον ὕψιστον οὐδεντα.

Pindar. Pyth. I.

(1) Thucyd. l. i. c. 16.

When in the mould'ring urn the monarch lies,  
His fame in lively characters remains,  
Or graved in monumental histories,  
Or deck'd and painted in Aonian strains.  
Thus fresh and fragrant and immortal blooms  
The virtue, CRÆSUS, of thy gentle mind:  
While fate to infamy and hatred dooms  
Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind;  
Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride  
When in his brazen bail the broiling wretches  
died.

Him therefore nor in sweet society  
The generous youth conversing ever name,  
Nor with the harp's delightful melody  
Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.  
The first, the greatest bliss on man conferr'd,  
Is in the acts of virtue to excel;  
The second to obtain their high reward,  
The soul-exalting praise of doing well.  
Who both these lots attains is blest indeed,  
Since fortune here below can give no richer meed.

Well's translation.

In Pindar's youth the fame of Cræsus was recent. The selection of him therefore as an example of a virtuous and beneficent prince, fitted to be named in opposition to a detested tyrant, is strong testimony.

CHAP. VII.  
SECT. I.Herodot. l. i.  
c. 29.

first foreigner, excepting only Midas, son of Gordias king of Phrygia, who ever sent a present thither. Cræsus seems to have equalled in superstition any of his predecessors, tho otherwise highly liberal. He appears to have been partial to the Greeks, and he encouraged men of genius and learning of that nation in his court \*. But he was not without a considerable share of ambition. Being master of the whole western coast of Asia Minor, with all its shipping, he had the means of becoming a more formidable naval power than had yet been known in the world. Already the islands trembled for their independency; and Greece itself was not without apprehension, when events in another quarter called all the attention of the Lydian monarch.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 27.

The accounts of the countries about the river Euphrates go farther into antiquity than those of any other upon earth, yet we scarcely know when there was not a large and polished empire there. Of other countries which have possessed science, arts, and letters, we learn whence science, arts, and particularly whence letters have come to them; but no trace appears of their existence in any other country prior to their flourishing in CHALDÆA. However also the wonders of BABYLON may have been exaggerated by some writers, we have yet sufficient testimony to it's having been a city of extraordinary magnitude, populousness, wealth, and magnificence, when scarcely elsewhere in the world a city existed. The ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, of which it was the metropolis, by a revolt of the northern provinces became divided. Babylon remained the capital of the southern part, still called Assyria: the northern formed an extensive kingdom under the name of MEDIA. To the south of Media, and east of Assyria, was a mountainous tract called PERSIA; so inferior to the surrounding countries in riches and populousness, that hitherto it had been of little weight or consideration. But during the reign of Cræsus in Ly-

\* The three first lines of the quotation from Pindar in the foregoing note, being introductory to the mention of Cræsus, appear to indicate that the Grecian poets, as well as the sophists mentioned by Herodotus, were not without a due share of that prince's favor;

if indeed the historian did not mean to include poets under the term sophists. It should follow that, if pure Greek was not the common language of Sardis, it was however familiarly understood in Cræsus's court.

dia a prince of extraordinary abilities named Cyrus arose among the Persians. Those hardy mountaineers had the same superiority over the enervated inhabitants of the rich Asiatic plains, which is still observed in the sultry climates of the east; tho in Europe the difference in strength and courage between the inhabitants of mountain and of plains is only to be found in the imagination of speculative writers. Cyrus became master of Media, according to some accounts, by inheritance from his mother, according to others by arms. He was successful in war against Assyria, and threatened the intire conquest of that empire. Cræsus was alarmed at his growing power and fame. It was obvious policy to support the Assyrian Monarch, and endeavour to hold the balance between him and the Persian. Yet either the attempt or the neglect might be fatal; and human wisdom could only decide upon the probability. Anxious for surer grounds, and full of the superstition of his age, he tried all the more celebrated oracles known to the Greeks for advice and information. He was so liberal in presents to Delphi, that the Delphians passed a decree granting to the king and people of Lydia precedence \* in the consultation of the oracle, with privilege for any Lydian to become at pleasure a Delphian citizen. Such preference to a foreigner in a business which must have been under the controul of the Amphictyonic council, proves strongly the respect of the Greeks for Cræsus, and perhaps their fear of him. Yet the managers of the oracle, always provident of its reputation, could by no means be induced to prophesy any success to that monarch in a war with Persia. To all his interrogatories on that subject they gave answers so dubious and elusive, that, whatsoever part he might take, and whatsoever might be the event, the credit of the oracle would be safe. The unhappy prince, after much hesitation, at length determined upon war. He led his army into those provinces beyond the river Halys which had formed part of the Median monarchy. Cyrus immediately quitted his Assyrian foes to march against Cræsus. One great battle decided the fate of

Ol. lvii. 1.

B. C. 544.

N.

Ol. lviii. 1.

B. C. 543.

B.

\* Προμαχίαν καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ πρεσβείαν. Herodot. l. i. c. 54. What precisely these privileges and honors were may be difficult to determine.

Lydia,

CHAP. VII. Lydia. Cyrus was victorious, and, marching immediately to Sardis, made Cræsus prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 141.

While the issue of the war remained yet uncertain Cyrus had endeavoured to gain the Grecian cities in Asia Minor; but they adhered to their engagements with the Lydian king. The full success therefore of the Persian arms could not but be highly alarming to them. Immediately the Ionians sent to offer submission upon the same terms on which they had been subject to Cræsus. The Milesians alone were admitted to so much favor. The others were told that, having refused those terms when offered, they must abide the consequences. Such a reply from such a potentate was dreadful. Each city set to repair and improve its fortifications. The Panionian assembly was summoned. But a comparison of their own force with that of the Persian monarchy affording no reasonable hope that they should of themselves be able to withstand the threatened danger, in this extremity they turned their thoughts to their parent states; with little expectation, however, that even these either would or could protect them. An embassy was sent to Lacedæmon, as the leading state of Greece. But it was never the character of the Spartan government to be forward in hazardous enterprize. The Ionians could obtain no promise of assistance; but some Spartans were appointed to accompany them in their return, to inquire into the truth of the alarming accounts given of the Persian power, and endeavour to learn the farther designs of the conquering monarch. The Spartan ministers went to the Persian court at Sardis; and the account given with his usual simplicity by Herodotus of what passed at an audience to which Cyrus admitted them, marks just the contempt which might be expected in an eastern conqueror for the little republics of Greece. A republic, indeed, was probably a new idea to him. He told the Spartans, 'That he could not be afraid of people who had 'squares in the middle of their towns, in which they met to swear 'and deceive one another,' alluding to the agora, which was, in  
most

Herodot. 1. i.  
c. 152, 153.

most of the Grecian cities, the place equally for the common market and for the general assembly: and he concluded with a threat, 'that it might come to their turn to lament their own subjection, and they had better not interfere in his concerns with the Ionians.' The war with Assyria was an object of other importance. Marching therefore himself eastward, he left the Greeks to his lieutenants.

It was a practice of this great prince to leave the administration of conquered countries, as far as safely might be, in the hands of natives. He committed a high office at Sardis to Pactyas, a Lydian, who took a very early opportunity to show himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. Cyrus was scarcely gone when he managed a revolt, became master of the town of Sardis, and besieged the Persian governor in the citadel. Cyrus did not think even this a circumstance to require the intermission of his march against Assyria. He detached a part only of his army against the rebel, who appears to have been very unequal to the greatness of his attempt; for, according to Herodotus, without any farther effort, he fled to the Grecian town of Cuma, where probably he had claims of hospitality. The Persian general sent to demand him. The Cumæans, between fear of the vengeance of so mighty a power, and unwillingness to incur the disgrace of betraying a received suppliant, which they expected would also draw on them the anger of the gods, were greatly at a loss. The neighbouring oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, then in high repute among the Asian Greeks, was their resource. This story, also related by Herodotus with a simplicity evincing truth, while it characterizes both the religion and the politics of the times, affords a remarkable specimen both of the subjects upon which oracles were consulted, and of the subtleties of the managers to preserve their credit. The question of the Cumæans was not a little distressing. To advise any opposition to the Persian power would have been putting the credit of the oracle to the highest risk. But to betray an admitted suppliant was held among the Greeks, in no less a measure, offensive to the gods and infamous among men. This, however, the oracle unwarily directed. Aristodicus,

Herodot. l. i. c. 15.  
Herodot. l. i. c. 153.

l. i. c. 156  
& seq.

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## SECT. I.

dicus, a man eminent among the citizens of Cuma, whether influenced by party-views, or by friendship for Paçtyas, or by honest indignation at the unworthy deed intended by his fellowcitizens, publicly declared his doubt of the answer reported from the oracle, and insisted that the prayer should be repeated to the god, and persons of unquestionable credit appointed to bring the response. He prevailed, and was himself appointed of the number. The answer was still as before, That the Cumæans should deliver up Paçtyas. Aristodicus, not thus satisfied, searching round the temple, purposely disturbed some nests of sparrows and other birds, which Grecian superstition held to be, in that situation, under the particular protection of the deity of the place. A voice was presently heard from the innermost recess of the building, ‘O most unholy of men! how darest thou thus violate my suppliants!’ Aristodicus replied, ‘O sovereign power! dost thou thus protect thy suppliants, yet commandest the Cumæans to give up their suppliant?’ ‘Yes,’ returned the voice, ‘I command it: that so you, the sooner perishing, may no more consult oracles about betraying suppliants.’ This reply answered the purpose both of the oracle and of Aristodicus, but not so of the Cumæans. The credit of the oracle, not only for truth, but in some measure for justice also, was saved; but the Cumæans, fearing equal destruction whether they betrayed Paçtyas or attempted his protection, sought to avoid the danger by a middle course, and furnished him with means of escaping to Mitylene in Lesbos. There it was hoped he might be safe: for as the Persians were utterly un-conversant in marine affairs, and no maritime state was yet added to their dominion, the Grecian islands were thought in no immediate danger. But the Mitylenæans, equally regardless of their honor, and fearless of divine vengeance, only considered how they might most profit by the conjuncture. They entered into a negotiation to deliver up Paçtyas for a stipulated price. His Cumæan friends, informed of this, farther assisted him with means of escaping to Chios. But the Chians, no less infamously mercenary than the Mitylenæans,

for



for a small tract of land on the continent overagainst their island, sold him to the Persian; and to execute their agreement scrupled not to violate the sanctuary of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their state, to which he had fled as a sure asylum.

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The Persian general, meanwhile, overran the vales of the Mæander and of Magnesia, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He took the town of Priene, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. He was proceeding thus violently to execute his commission for subduing the Grecian possessions, when sickness stopped his course, and death soon followed. Harpagus, his successor in command, began his administration with the siege of Phocæa. The Phocæans had been remarkable for their early and successful application to maritime affairs. They, first of the Greeks, undertook long voyages, and made known to their fellowcountrymen the shores of the Adriatic, and the coasts of Tuscany and Spain. Becoming rich by commerce, they had fortified their town, which was large, in a manner superior to what was then common. But the Persian force, directed by the skill of Harpagus, was too great for them to resist. This general seems to have made his approaches in a method analogous to that now in use, with just the difference which the fortification and arms of his age required: to his trenches he added a lofty rampart. The Phocæans, hard pressed, obtained a truce for a day upon pretence of considering about a capitulation. They made use of it for flight. Putting their families and most valuable effects aboard their vessels, they escaped to Chios. The Persian took possession of the empty town. All that the Phocæans wanted was a seaport and security: the rest their activity would supply. They desired therefore to buy the little islands called Oenussæ, lying between Chios and the main; but the Chians, jealous of an interference in trade, refused to sell them. About twenty years before, the Phocæans had founded a town called Alalia in Corsica. Thither they determined to direct their course. But in their way, actuated by that spirit of revenge which naturally imbittered war when death, slavery,

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 161.Herodot. l. i.  
c. 163.Ol. 1x. 2.  
B. C. 539.  
B.

CHAP. VII. or expatriation were the only alternatives to the vanquished, they  
 SECT. I. suddenly turned upon Phocæa; and, probably finding the Persian  
 garriſon both weak and unprepared, they put the whole to the ſword, tho without any hope or thought of holding the place. After this uſeleſs maſſacre, imprecating ſolemn curſes on any of their number who ſhould deſert their expedition, and all taking an oath never to return to Phocæa, they ſteered for Corſica. More than half, notwithstanding, ſtimulated by regret for their native country and dread of their new undertaking, returned. How they made their peace with the Perſian we are not informed. Of the reſt, after various chances, a part ſettled the town of Hyela, afterward called Helea and Velia, in Italy. But the fairer fortune of the larger part ſeems not to have been known in Greece in Herodotus's time: they founded Maſſilia, now Marſeille, in Gaul. A barren territory here gave ſmall temptation for the rapine of neighbouring barbarians. A port ſingularly commodious for veſſels adapted to the navigation of the Mediterranean, afforded that opportunity which the Greeks deſired for communication with all the world, beyond the ability of barbarians to interrupt. Thus Maſſilia became a rich and powerful maritime commonwealth. Its naval victory over the Carthaginians, reported by Thucydides, proves its early ſtrength. The Grecian names Antipolis, Nicæa, Monæcus (now Antibes, Nice, Monaco) eaſtward, and Agatha (now Agde), Aphrodiſion, Emporeion, Hemiſcopeion (called by the Romans Dianium) weſtward in Gaul, and far ſouthward on the coaſt of Spain, mark the extent of its maritime dependencies. The neglect of the admirable harbour of Toulon, with the labors afterward of the Romans to make Forum Julii, now Frejus, a naval arſenal, mark the difference between ancient and modern navigation.

The Teians, next attacked by Harpagus, followed the example of Phocæa. Sailing to Thrace, they founded the town of Abdera. The other Aſian Greeks, finding their walls would not inable them ſingly to reſiſt the Perſian power, reſolved together to try the event  
 of

Herodot. l. i.  
 c. 163.  
 & Strabo. l. vi.  
 p. 532.

Pauſan. l. x.  
 c. 8.  
 Thucyd. l. i.  
 c. 13.  
 Strabo. l. iv.  
 p. 179.

Thucyd. ubi  
 ſup.  
 Strabo. l. iv.  
 p. 180. 184.

Strabo. l. iii.  
 p. 159.

of a battle. Being defeated, they submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, which seem to have been milder than might have been expected from the former Persian general. Harpagus proceeded from Ionia through Lycia into Caria, and brought the whole of Asia Minor under the Persian dominion.

Cyrus, meanwhile, was no less successful in a greater line in Upper Asia. By that siege of Babylon, equally famous in prophane and sacred history, he became master of Assyria. Having thus acquired a dominion far more extensive than had before been known in the world, the wisdom of his remaining years was employed to model the many nations which owned subjection to him into one regular empire. We are, however, far from having that certain and complete information concerning the transactions of this great prince, either in war or peace, that we might wish; but upon the whole it appears that his laws and political institutions were directed by a superiority of genius equal to that which guided him to conquest; and, what principally makes the want of an authentic history of him to be regretted, he stands singular among the many conquerors by whom it has been the fate of that large and rich portion of the world to be overrun, as a benefactor to mankind; as a father to all his people, to the conquered scarcely less than to his fellowconquerors\*.

\* Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, has borne testimony to the virtues of Cyrus in a short but emphatical panegyric.

Κῆρος, ἐνδύμαν ἀνδρ,  
 Ἀρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν ἐιρήνην φίλους,  
 Ἀνδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτίσαστο,  
 Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ.  
 Θιὸς γὰρ ἄνκ' ἠκόηται, ὡς ἔφρων ἔφθ.

p. 262. edit. H. Steph.

This passage indicates strongly that the strange story told by Herodotus of the death of Cy-

rus, if ever heard of, was not commonly received in Greece in the poet's time, and must add considerable weight to the opinions which give the preference to Xenophon's more probable account. It will, however, be remembered to the credit of Herodotus's honesty (which still adds farther weight to Xenophon's testimony) that he prefaces his account with a confession that it was dubious, and that he had only selected it from among various contradictory reports.

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SECT. I.

Ol. lx. 3.

B. C. 538.

N. and B.

## SECTION II.

*Accession of Cambyfes to the Throne of Persia. Acquisition of Tyre and Conquest of Egypt by the Persians. Accession of Darius. Constitution of the Persian Empire : Persian Religion.*

CHAP. VII.

SECT. II.

Ol. lxii. 4.

B. C. 529.

N. and B.

CYRUS was succeeded in this great empire by his son Cambyfes, whose temper, which led him to emulate his father rather in military than in civil virtues, gave occasion to all neighbouring nations to dread the force of which he was become absolute disposer. His first object was the conquest of EGYPT. This country, as we have before observed, had been, from times of highest antiquity, a populous, well-regulated, wealthy, and polished kingdom. Divided from all surrounding nations by natural boundaries of singular strength, it had been little exposed to foreign invasion. Yet the Egyptian monarchs had always been of great political consequence. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Palestine. This led to transactions, in war and in peace, with Assyria. But a vast desert divided the two monarchies; and the countries disputed by their arms were mostly far distant from the seat of government of either. Egypt itself therefore, in a peace seldom interrupted, cultivated science and arts; and under Amasis, cotemporary with Cyrus, so flourished in riches and population that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns. We have sufficient assurance that some of those towns were of extraordinary size and magnificence. Egypt was at this time the school of Greece: all who desired to improve themselves in knowlege went to Egypt; and the mere circumstance of having been in that polished country appears in this age to have given reputation to a Greek. But about a century before the reign of Amasis a civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony there. On a failure of the ancient royal line, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereignty. One of them, Psammichus,

Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 177.

Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 152.

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tichus, pressed by the rest, engaged in his service some piratical Grecian adventurers from Ionia and Caria; and with their assistance became monarch of Egypt. This is the first instance upon record of that practice, not less common afterward among the Greeks than since among the Swifs, of letting their valor and skill in arms for hire. Psammitichus thought it prudent to retain for his support those by whom he had acquired his throne. He settled his auxiliary Greeks in a town near the mouth of the Nile, and he encouraged their commerce with their mother-country. Probably the ancient constitution of Egypt suffered by this revolution. The power of the great families would be reduced; some of them perhaps extinguished; and a monarch who reigned by an army of foreign mercenaries, could scarcely exist but through the maintenance of absolute dominion. The scepter of Psammitichus, thus supported, descended to his posterity. But Apries, his great-grandson, was dethroned, and Amasis, a private Egyptian, acquired the sovereignty. In Egypt all persons were strictly confined by law to the profession of their ancestors. All the descendants therefore of the Ionians and Carians were born soldiers. Amasis imitated and extended the policy of Psammitichus. He removed the Ionian and Carian families to Memphis, his capital, and formed from them his body-guard. He greatly encouraged the resort of Greeks to Egypt, allotted the town and territory of Naucratis on the Nile for their residence and possession, and even allowed them to build temples there, and to have their processions and other religious ceremonies after the manner of their own country. Most of the Asian Greeks had accordingly temples there: of the people of Old Greece, the Æginetans only are mentioned. But farther to cultivate a general interest through the Greek nation, Amasis made a large present to the Amphictyons toward rebuilding the temple of Delphi.

Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 154.

Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 162.

Herodot. l. ii.  
c. 178.

This able prince died at a very advanced age, during the preparations in Persia for the invasion of his country. He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who seems to have suffered for want of his father's

- CHAP. VII. ther's advantage of having been bred in a private station. Through  
 SECT. II. some mismanagement, apparently, in those who guided his councils,  
 Herodot. l. iii. Phanes, a Halicarnassian, of considerable abilities and high in com-  
 c. 4. mand in the Grecian troops, took disgust at the Egyptian service and  
 went over to the Persian. The approach to Egypt from Asia with a  
 large army, from the nature of the intervening country, even with-  
 out an enemy to oppose, is extremely difficult. The Persians were  
 utterly unversed in marine affairs. But they had absolute command  
 of whatever the Asian Greeks could supply. Herodotus, himself  
 Herodot. l. ii. an Asian Greek almost cotemporary, confesses that Cambyſes con-  
 c. 1. sidered them as his inherited slaves. TYRE, moreover, originally a co-  
 lony from Sidon, but risen to a superiority both in commerce and in  
 political consequence above the parent city so as to become the first  
 maritime power in the world, was under his dominion. It had been  
 subdued about fifty years before by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria.  
 The Tyrians therefore gladly passed under the sovereignty of Persia,  
 and seem to have obtained favorable terms. The Cyprian Greeks  
 Herodot. l. iii. had also sought safety by voluntary submission; and all these people  
 c. 19. contributed to form the fleet and army which were to go against Egypt.  
 Yet all the formidable force that the Persian monarch could raise  
 might have failed, but for the exact knowledge of the country and  
 the approaches to it, which Phanes brought to him. The army  
 must pass through a part of the desert Arabia. Under the direction  
 Herodot. l. iii. of Phanes the friendship of an independent Arabian chief, such as  
 c. 4 & seq. yet hold that country in spite of all the power of Turkey, was pur-  
 chased; and through his assistance the troops were supplied with  
 provisions, and, what was still more difficult, with water \*. Thus  
 a most formidable obstacle was overcome without loss, and the army  
 met the fleet before Pelusium. That key of Egypt was taken after  
 Ol. lxxiii. 4. a short siege. Psammenitus was soon after defeated in a great battle;  
 B. C. 525.  
 B.

\* In describing this country and its people, little known to the Greeks in general, who from all their settlements made the passage to Egypt by sea, Herodotus gives one strong in-

stance, among many, of the extent of his information, as well as of his honesty in reporting it.

and the whole country quickly submitted to the conqueror. The neighbouring Africans, and among the rest the Greeks of Cyrene and Barca, sent offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted.

Cambyfes, flushed with success beyond expectation, would immediately proceed to farther conquest. Herodotus says that he proposed at the same time to make war upon the Ethiopians, Ammonians, and Carthaginians. Carthage was a colony from Tyre; and, emulating the mother-country in commerce, was become equal, or superior, in naval power. But the Tyrians showed such extreme aversion to assist in a war against those whom they termed their children, that Cambyfes was persuaded to desist from that enterprize. He chose to go in person against Ethiopia. Without seeing an enemy, he lost more than half his army in the desert, and returned. His conduct, ever since the conquest of Egypt, had been that of a merciless and frantic tyrant, his wildness often approaching to madness. He is said to have died in the eighth year of his reign of an accidental wound from his own sword. The Grecian accounts however of these distant transactions, especially of those not by their nature of very public notoriety, are probably not very exact. A magian, we are told, usurped the Persian throne, pretending to be the younger son of Cyrus escaped from assassination, by which, at the command of Cambyfes, the real prince had perished. It will not be necessary to repeat here the well known story of the conspiracy of the seven chiefs, the death of the usurper, and the elevation of Darius to the throne by the neighing of his horse. It suffices for our purpose that Darius, said to be of the royal family of Persia, but not descended from Cyrus, became sovereign of the empire\*.

This prince was a successor not unworthy of that great monarch. His principal object seems to have been to complete and improve the plan traced by Cyrus for the administration of his vast dominion.

\* The short account given by Æschylus, in the Persians, of the succession of Persian kings, differs from that of Herodotus, which has been generally followed, but they are not irreconcilable.

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Herodot. l. iii.  
c. 13.

Herodot. l. iii.  
c. 17.

Æschyl. Pers.  
Plato. de Leg.  
l. iii. p. 694.  
t. ii. & Epist.  
vii. p. 332.  
t. iii.

What

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What we ought to attribute to one, and what to the other of these princes, we cannot now tell; nor do we learn with that accuracy which we might wish, the particulars of the system finally established; but many circumstances contribute to show that upon the whole it was directed with admirable wisdom; inasmuch that those nations, to whom despotic government seems congenial, have perhaps never since been so happy as under Persian rule. We find that the whole empire was divided into large provinces called satrapies, each under the superintendency of a great officer intitled satrap, to whom all governors of towns and smaller districts were responsible; but without being dependent on him for their appointment or removal, which were immediate from the monarch. Thus the superior and inferior governors were each a check upon the other. That the affairs of the empire might be administered with regularity and certain dispatch, and that information might constantly and speedily pass between the capital and the remotest provinces, an establishment was made, imperfectly resembling the modern post: the business of government alone was its object, without any regard to commercial intercourse, or the convenience of individuals. This appears, however, to have been the first model of that institution which now, through the liberal system of European politics, and the ascendant which Europe has acquired in the affairs of the world, extends communication so wonderfully over the globe. The Persian laws were probably few and simple; more in the nature of fundamental maxims than of a finished system of jurisprudence. That inflexible rule that the laws were never in any point to be altered, might thus be a salutary restraint upon despotism, without preventing entirely the adapting of practice to changes of times and circumstances. Darius regulated the revenue of his empire, composed of the richest kingdoms in the world. In apportioning the imposts and directing their collection, he is said to have shown great abilities and great moderation; yet so difficult is it for rulers to avoid censure whenever private convenience must yield in the least to public necessity, the Persians, forming a comparison of their

Herodot. l.iii.  
c. 89.  
Plutarch.  
Apophth.



their three first emperors, called Cyrus the father, Cambyfes the master, Darius the broker of the empire. Master, it must be observed, among the ancients implied the relation, not, as with us, to hired servants, but to slaves\*.

The Persians were by nothing more remarkably or more honorably distinguished from surrounding nations, and particularly from the Greeks, than by their Religion. It were beyond the purpose of a Grecian history to enlarge upon the theology of Zoroaster, which, as a most ingenious and indefatigable inquirer has observed, 'was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples.' It were equally beyond our object here to discuss the much disputed questions, When Zoroaster lived, and whether he was really the founder of the religion, the author of its sublime precepts and enlarged view of the divine nature, or only the regulator of the Magian worship, and institutor of the innumerable ceremonies with which it was incumbered and disgraced. It may however be proper to advert briefly to the strong contrast between the Persian religion and the Greek, which, as the same able writer remarks, was

Gibbon's  
Hist. of the  
Roman Emp.  
vol. i. c. 8.

\* Æschylus, throughout his tragedy of the Persians, bears most honorable testimony to the character and administration of Darius, particularly in the chorus, p. 166.

Ω πόποι, ἡ μεγάλη  
'Αγαθή τε πολυσεύμενος βυστῆς  
'Επικύρανος αὐτ' ὁ γηγαιῶς  
Παταγῆς, ἀνάκτις  
'Αμάρχης βασιλεὺς ἰσθμῶς  
Δαίμων ἀρχὴ γένεας.  
Πῶτα μὲν ἑλκεύμενος  
Στρατῆρας ἀπὸ φανερῶν, ὅτε ἰσχυ-  
μα τὰ πύργια πᾶσι τῶνδ' ὀνόματι. κ. τ. δ.

Plato's testimony is not less favorable, and scarcely less emphatically expressed, *Ἐδὲ τε* (ὁ Δαίμων) *παράδειγμα αὐτῶν γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ βασιλέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ γυμνοῦσιν.* *Epist. viii. p. 332. t. iii.* See also his *Menæxenus*, p. 239. t. ii. and his third *Dialogue on Legislation*, p. 694.

Herodotus has undertaken to give an account, in some detail, of the produce of the Persian taxes: on what authority we are not informed. But we know that it is even now,

with all the freedom of communication through modern Europe, extremely difficult to acquire information at all approaching to exactness of the revenue, and still more of the resources of neighbouring states. Mr. Richardson, in his *Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East*, has observed that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus's account, was very unequal to the expences of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes, and therefore, he says, Herodotus must stand convicted of falsehood in one case or the other. Unprejudiced persons will have little difficulty to chuse their belief. The principal circumstances of the expedition felt necessarily under the eyes of thousands. The revenue could be known to very few, and the resources probably to none. Yet a very acute inquirer into ancient politics has observed, that valuable information is derived from Herodotus's account of the Persian revenue. See *Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire*, v. I. c. 8. note i, & v. II. c. 24.

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such

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Herodot. l. i.  
c. 131, 132.

such that it could not escape the most careless observer. It appears to have struck forcibly the inquisitive mind of Herodotus, who, with all the prejudices of polytheism about him, has in a few words marked it so accurately that, after every subsequent account of ancient authors, and every discussion of modern, very nice distinction is necessary to convict him of any error. ‘These,’ says Herodotus, ‘I have found to be the tenets of the Persians. They hold it unlawful to erect images, temples, and altars, and impute to folly such practices in others: because, as it appears to me, they do not, like the Greeks, think the gods of the same nature or from the same origin with men. The summits of mountains they esteem the places most proper for sacrifice to the supreme Deity; and the whole circle of the heavens they call God. They sacrifice besides to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the winds. In addressing the deity it is forbidden to petition for blessings to themselves individually; the prayer must extend to the whole Persian nation.’ Such are the religious tenets which have always been attributed to the Persians. But the Persians themselves of every age, as the historian of the Roman empire proceeds to observe, have denied that they extend divine honors beyond the One Supreme Being, and have explained the equivocal conduct which has given occasion to strangers continually to charge them with polytheism: ‘The elements, and more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, were the objects of their religious reverence, because they considered them as the purest symbols, the noblest productions, and the most powerful agents of the Divine Power and Nature.’

Gibbon’s  
Hist. vol. i.  
c. 8.

## SECTION III.

*Conquest of Thrace, and Invasion of European Scythia by Darius. Submission of Macedonia to the Persian Empire. State of the Ægean Islands, and History of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. Situation of the Grecian People under the Persian Dominion.*

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THE great states which had hitherto swayed the politics of the civilized world, and balanced one another, were Assyria, Media, Lydia, Egypt. Armenia had also sometimes been of consequence; and Tyre, with a territory of small extent, and little even proportional value, yet respectable through wealth acquired by commerce, and naval power, the consequence of commerce, like the Dutch in modern times, had been usually courted by the greatest monarchs. Carthage was powerful, but distant. Greece was yet of little political consideration. Separated into so many small independent states, often hostile to each other, and never united by any political tie that could be lasting, each by itself, among the transactions of great nations, appeared utterly insignificant. Assyria, Media, Lydia, Armenia, Egypt, Tyre, with all their dependencies, were now united under one vast empire. There appeared thus in the world scarcely an object for the Persian arms; and it might be expected that a prince, wise like Darius, yet not particularly indowed with the genius of a conqueror, would remain satisfied with such dominions, without desiring more, or fearing that any foreign power could make them less. But such is the nature of man, that prosperity itself creates disquiet. Peace, internal and external, is not always within the power of the wisest prince: the choice of evils only is left to him; and tho despotic chief of a state the most dreaded by neighbouring nations, he may be under a necessity to make war. Thus it seems to have been with Darius. The Persians had been accustomed to respect in their sovereigns, first their right of inheritance, then their character as con-

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Thucyd. l. ii.  
c. 97.

Herodot. l. iv.  
c. i & seq.

querors. Ambitious spirits, long used to military activity, could ill bear rest: and the gains of conquest would not soon be forgotten by the greedy. All circumstances therefore considered, it may have been much more a matter of necessity than of choice for Darius to seek for a war to wage. Of all the nations surrounding his empire the wild people of the frozen regions of Scythia could alone be esteemed formidable to it. He chose to lead an army against them by the western side of the Euxine sea. The pretence for the war was the invasion of Asia by that people above a hundred years before, when they overran Media. But if we may guess at the real inducement to undertake this expensive and hazardous expedition, seemingly without necessity as without allurement, it was to lead as far from home as possible the restless spirits of the nation; and, by a rough and unprofitable warfare, to make their wishes and desires revert, and become fixed on the peaceable enjoyment of those rich homes which the valor and fortune of their fathers had acquired for them. An immense army was collected. The Asian Greeks formed a naval force to attend it. They were ordered to the mouth of the Danube. All the nations as far as that river submitted without resistance. Darius crossed it: but when engaged in the vast wilderness beyond, tho no enemy appeared capable of opposing his force, want of subsistence soon obliged him to retire toward more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Like the modern Tartars they fought mostly on horseback: like them also, daring and skilful skirmishers, but incapable of order, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually harassing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general engagement; to which, on account of their quick motion and total disincumbrance from baggage and magazines, it was impossible to force them. Herodotus's account of this expedition exactly resembles what has been experienced in the same part of the world several times within the present century. The Persian cavalry, he tells us, shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge; yet the Scythians could make no impression

pression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat however through such a country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was highly difficult and hazardous. After great sufferings, and much loss, the Persians reached the Danube. Having put that river between themselves and the enemy, the march was continued quietly to the Hellespont. Leaving a large force here under Megabazus, Darius proceeded to Sardis\*.

It has been common among later historians, to speak of the event of this expedition as highly disgraceful to Darius; seemingly with as

\* Herodotus's account of this expedition affords remarkable proof both of his propensity to relate wonderful stories which he had heard, and of his honest scruple to invent what he had not heard; and at the same time it proves that he often had information of distant countries and distant transactions beyond what, in his age and circumstances, might be expected. Nothing can be more improbable and inconsistent, not to say impossible, than his story of the Persian monarch's cruelty to Megabazus and his sons. All the most authenticated circumstances of the life of Darius mark him for a very politic prince, yet of singular humanity. But that execution, as it stands reported by Herodotus, appears scarcely less absurd in its impolicy than abominable for its cruelty. Yet that about the time of Darius's march for Scythia, there may have been executions in Persia in a family of rank, is by no means impossible; and while the policy of a despotic government would conceal the real circumstances of the crime, perhaps also forbidding conversation upon it, the absurd tale which Herodotus has transmitted to posterity might pass in whispers as far as Asia Minor. The closest-conversations between the Persian monarch and his brother, together with other circumstances of private communication which the historian has undertaken to detail, must be otherwise considered. A propensity to the dramatic manner appears strong in all very ancient history, and particularly in the oriental. It is indeed still observable in the narration of uneducated people in the most polished countries. This was not so far obsolete

among the Greeks after the age of Herodotus, but that the judicious and exact Thucydides thought it necessary to diversify his narrative by the frequent introduction of speeches; which he has used as a vehicle of political discussion of highest advantage to his history. But tho he bears with the critics the principal credit of this management, it appears that the design was not original with him: he found the example already set by Herodotus; of which a very valuable specimen occurs in the debate of the Persian chiefs concerning the form of government to be established after the death of the Magian usurper: certainly not the less valuable from the circumstance that, evidently not the sentiments of Persians confined to a despotic court, but the result of extensive observation by a Greek among various governments, is there related. The pretended debate in the cabinet of Xerxes concerning the expedition into Greece, considered as an exposition of the state of Greece at the time, is also well worthy attention. But the account which Herodotus has left us of so singular a people as the Scythians, so little generally known to the Greeks, when we find it confirmed by all subsequent testimony, and at length by the deep and exact researches of the historian of the Roman empire, cannot but do him great credit. It has indeed been highly satisfactory to me to find a writer whose authority has been so much sneered at, and yet of whom the want of cotemporary historians has compelled me to make so much use, so well stand the test of Mr. Gibbon's most extensive and acute inquiries.

CHAP. VII. little reason as they have extolled the virtues, and even the wisdom of  
 SECT. III. the savage Scythians. Certainly his reputation and consequence among  
 nations were not sunk by it \*. On his return the Ionian and Æolian  
 Greeks vied in paying court to him. The force left under Megabazus sufficed to extend the Persian dominion westward. All was  
 subdued as far as Macedonia; and Amyntas, king of that country, acknowledged subjection to the Persian monarch by the delivery of  
 earth and water. The Grecian islands also began to feel the overbearing influence of the Persian power. The history of Samos, which  
 had been acquired in the reign of Cambyfes, as it tends to explain the state of those islands and seas, may deserve some detail.

Herodot. l. v.  
 c. 18.  
 Plato, Menex.  
 p. 239. t. ii.

Herodot. l. iii.  
 c. 39 & seq.  
 Strabo, l. xiv.  
 p. 637, 638.

Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, had, in conjunction with his two brothers, made himself master of the government. Procuring then the death of one, and the banishment of the other brother, he remained monarch of the island. He seems to have been the Machiavel of his time, with the advantage of possessing the means to prove the merit of his theory by practice. It is said to have been his favorite maxim, that he made a firmer friend by repairing an injury than he could possibly acquire without injuring. With a hundred trireme galleys in constant pay, he exercised universal piracy in the Grecian seas; but he cultivated the friendship of Amasis king of Egypt; who being, like himself, both a man of abilities and a usurper, would naturally incline to the connection. He acquired possession of many of the smaller islands of the Ægean, and of several towns on the continent of Asia Minor. In a war with the Milesians, defeating their allies the Lesbians in a seafight, he destroyed or took the whole fleet; and so little consideration had he for the Grecian name, the prisoners were made slaves, and the ditch surrounding the walls of Samos in Herodotus's time was formed by their labor. Little, however, as he cared for honor or justice, he studied elegance in luxury. He in-

\* The testimonies of Æschylus and Plato to this point are still stronger than that of Herodotus. See the chorus quoted in note \* p. 305 of this Volume, and Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695, v. ii.

couraged arts and learning, which were already beginning to flourish among the Asian Greeks, and the poet Anacreon was his constant guest. But the philosopher Pythagoras avoided such patronage: after passing some time in Egypt and Babylon, finding his country still oppressed by the tyranny of Polycrates, Pythagoras finally quitted Samos and settled at Crotona in Italy.

Polycrates began at length to be remarked for a prosperity which, among many trying circumstances, in no one instance had ever failed him. This very prosperity is said to have lost him the friendship of the king of Egypt. The anecdote, considered relatively to the history of the human mind, is remarkable. Amasis thought it in the nature of things that the tide of human affairs must unfailingly, sooner or later, bring a violent reverse of fortune; and in this belief he advised Polycrates to seek some loss, which might appease that disposition, apparent in the gods, disposers of worldly things, to envy human happiness\*. Polycrates, whether believing with his royal friend, or merely humoring popular prejudice, determined to follow the advice. He had a remarkable seal, highly valued, an emerald cut by Theodorus a celebrated Samian artist. This seal he threw into the sea. A few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him for a present, the seal was found in its belly. Polycrates, supposing this must be esteemed a manifest declaration of divine favor, wrote a particular account of it to Amasis; whose superstition on the contrary led him to so different a theory, that he sent a herald formally to renounce friendship and hospitality with one whom he thought marked for peculiar vengeance by the gods. Whether the circumstances of this story be simply true, or whether so deep a politician as Polycrates might think it worth while to impose the belief of the more extraordinary of them on a superstitious people, for the purpose of confirming the idea that he was peculiarly favored by the deity (an idea of high political importance in that age), or whether

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Herodot. l. iii.

c. 121.

Strabo, l. xiv.

p. 638.

Herodot. l. iii.

c. 40, 41.

Strabo, l. xiv.

p. 637, 638.

Herodot. &amp;

Strabo ut sup.

\* Εμὸς δὲ αὐτῶν μεγάλαις ἰσχυραῖς οὐκ ἀγίσκουσι, τοῦ θέναι ἱππευμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονεῖν. Epistle from Amasis to Polycrates in Herodot. b. iii. c. 40.

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we suppose the whole a fiction, which is not likely, it assists at least to characterize the age in which it was written, and many following ages, in which it was thought worth repeating and animadverting upon.

Herodot. l. iii.

c. 44 &amp; seq.

A deep stroke of policy, which occurs next in the history of Polycrates, perfectly accords with his general character. He feared a sedition among the Samians. Cambyfes was then collecting a naval force from the Asian Greeks for his Egyptian expedition. Polycrates sent privately to desire that the Persian monarch would require from him also a contribution of force to the armament. Such a request was not likely to be denied: the requisition was made; and Polycrates in consequence manned forty trireme galleys with those whom he thought most inclined and most able to give him disturbance. He had determined that they should never return to Samos; but being unable by intrigue to procure their detention by the Persians after the conquest of Egypt, he opposed them with open hostility. Thus excluded from their country, they applied to Lacedæmon for assistance. The Spartan government, always disposed to interfere in the internal quarrels of neighbouring states, received them favorably. Some old piracies of the Samians were a further pretence for war, and induced the Corinthians to join in it. The united force of the two states besieged Samos forty days without making any progress, and then returned to Peloponnesus. The expelled Samians, thus deserted, had again their fortune to seek. Piracy was the resource on which they determined. The island of Siphnus, small and otherwise of little value, had gold and silver mines, by which its inhabitants became remarkable among the Greeks for riches. The Samians went thither and desired to borrow ten talents. Being refused, they debarked, and began to plunder the country. The Siphnians, giving them battle, were defeated; and, in retreating to their town, a large body was cut off. A treaty was then proposed, and the Siphnians bought the departure of the Samians at the price of a hundred talents. These freebooters then sailed to Crete, and seizing

a ter-



a territory, founded the town of Cydonia, where they prospered greatly for five years; but in the sixth, quarrelling with the Æginetans, more powerful pirates than themselves, they were defeated in a sea-fight. The Æginetans then landed in Crete; and, being joined by the Cretans in an attack upon the Samian town, they took it, and reduced all the inhabitants to slavery.

Such being the state of the Grecian islands and Grecian seas, and such the mutual treatment of the Greeks among one another, we shall the less wonder at what they experienced from the Persians. The ambition of Polycrates was not inferior to his abilities. He is supposed to have aimed at no less than the command of all the islands of the Ægean, together with all Æolia and Ionia. His power, particularly his naval power, his known talents, and his suspected views, probably all gave umbrage to Orætes satrap of Sardis. What other cause of offence there was, Herodotus, with his usual honesty, confesses that he could not certainly learn. The Persian invited him to his court. Polycrates went with a large retinue. He was immediately arrested, and put to death by a public crucifixion; esteemed the most ignominious, as it was the most cruel of all usual modes of execution.

Samos thus was, except Cyprus, the first Grecian island brought under the Persian dominion. But after the return of Darius from Scythia, Lesbos, Chios, and other islands on the Asiatic coast were, some voluntarily, others by compulsion, added to his vast empire. Tyrants in general, and all who aimed at tyranny, not unwillingly submitted to a supremacy which either placed them above their fellowcitizens, or secured the superiority obtained. It was a common policy of the Persians, which we find practised by the great Cyrus, and perhaps not less advantageous than liberal, to appoint the son of the conquered prince, or some other principal person of the country itself, to be governor of the conquered country; always however under the superintending controul of a Persian satrap. Most of the Grecian towns were therefore left to their own magistrates and

CHAP. VII.  
SECT. III.

Herodot. l. iii.  
Thucyd. l. i.  
c. 13.  
Strabo, l. xiv.  
p. 637, 638.

Ol. lxiv. 3.  
B. C. 522.  
B.

Herodot. l. i.  
c. 154, & l. iii.  
c. 15.

CHAP. VII. laws; some citizen presiding as governor; whom in that elevated  
 SECT. III. situation the Greeks always intitled Tyrant. Thus Coes the Mitylenean, for services in the Scythian expedition, was raised to the tyranny of Mitylene. Darius, having settled the administration of Asia Minor and of his new acquisitions in Europe, committed the superintendency of the whole to his brother Artaphernes, and returned himself to Susa his capital.

Herodot. l. v.  
 c. 2.

Probably the principal ends proposed from the Scythian expedition were obtained \*. The ambitious spirits among the Persians had been diverted from domestic disturbance. If the army suffered in the Scythian wilds, yet a large extent of valuable country, inhabited by different nations, was nevertheless added to the empire. New honors and new employments were thus brought within the monarch's disposal. And the acquisition was perhaps not the less valuable from the circumstance that both the people of the newly acquired territory, and the people still unsubdued bordering on it, were in disposition restless and fierce; and therefore likely to furnish employment for those whom the prince, himself safe in his distant capital, might wish to employ.

\* This seems a conclusion warranted by the whole narration of Herodotus. The testimonies last referred to of Æschylus and Plato speak still more strongly to the same purpose.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Continuation of the History of GREECE during the Reign  
of DARIUS King of PERSIA.

## SECTION I.

*Immediate Causes of the Wars between Greece and Persia. Persian Expedition against Naxos. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian Government.*

THE Persian dominion now extended over a large portion of the Grecian people, and bordered on Greece itself. The Asiatic colonies indeed, natural and almost necessary objects for Persian ambition, could scarcely by any possibility have avoided falling under its overwhelming power : But Greece, separated from all the world by lofty mountains and dangerous seas, had little to attract the notice of the mighty monarch who lived at Susa ; while the nearer provinces of India presented a far more tempting field for his arms ; and the Scythians, who ranged the long extent of his northern frontier, from the borders of China to the borders of Germany, might still be deemed formidable neighbours. Had therefore inactivity been in the temper of its people, Greece might have lain long in obscurity, peaceful, free, and disregarded. But inactivity was in the temper neither of the people nor of the governments of Greece. Touching upon the Persian provinces, to clash was thus scarcely avoidable ; and some transactions, at first seemingly insignificant among the concerns of a vast empire, led shortly to those wars, which, by events contrary to all human expectation and foresight, raised the Grecian name to the summit of military glory ; and giving thus a new and powerful spring to the temper and genius of the people, contri-

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SECT. I.



Thucyd. l. ii.  
c. 97.

## CHAP. VIII.

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buted greatly to those astonishing exertions of the mind in every path of science and of art, which have made the Greeks of this and the next age the principal ornaments of the history of mankind. To borrow therefore the words of a great man, who has treated Grecian history tho' briefly, yet with superior penetration and judgement, 'I shall not hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched until in the ruin of this great Persian monarchy \*.'

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 17, & seq.

Among the Grecian governors under the Persian dominion, Histæus tyrant of Miletus was eminent for abilities, and for favor with the Persian king. He had rendered considerable services in the Scythian expedition; and, as a reward, had obtained a grant of a territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, where he proposed to plant a colony. Thrace was at this time a great object to the Greeks for its gold and silver mines. It was also sought for the ship-timber with which it abounded. In the extent of the Persian empire, to give away the corner of a newly acquired province was a trifle for the prince's bounty; nor would the circumstances of the spot, in themselves, be thought worth inquiry. But the busy temper of the Greeks, their forms of government, so new to the Persians, and particularly their skill in naval affairs, which gave them importance with their conquerors, were likely to excite jealousy. It was suggested that Histæus, by means of his colony, so favorably situated both for acquisition of wealth and increase of naval power, might raise himself into a situation to assert independency. Miletus, where he governed, was in riches and population the first of the Asiatic Grecian cities:

\* Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, Part I. book iii. c. 5. sect. 7. It is to be regretted that this extraordinary man, who, by that union of characters common among the ancients, but almost singular in modern ages, soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, was so peculiarly qualified to un-

fold ancient history to modern apprehension, should have allowed himself so little scope for the affairs of Greece and Rome. His superior manner of treating them, as far as he has gone, did not escape the observation of Mr. Hume. See in his History of England, the Appendix to the Reign of James the First.

his influence was extensive among the others; and should he acquire the command of the whole maritime force of the Asian Greeks, it might not be easy to reduce him. Quietly, therefore, and without apparent injury, to prevent any such project, it was pretended that Darius greatly desired his advice and assistance at Susa. There any honors might be paid him, without risk of his acquiring means to assume more than it was thought proper to give. Histæus, flattered by the distinction, gladly consented to attend the king. His Thracian settlement, already begun, meanwhile remained to him; and completely to prove that only favor was intended, the government of Miletus, in his absence, was committed to his kinsman Aristagoras.

Of the islands in the *Ægean* sea, Naxos was one of the most populous and flourishing. In a contest of factions there, the democratical party prevailing, most of the principal citizens were expelled. They went to Miletus and solicited Aristagoras for assistance toward their restoration. That chief thinking the opportunity commodious for adding Naxos to his own command, received them favorably. He told them, that indeed the force under his immediate authority was unequal to compel those who now held their island; for he was informed they were eight thousand strong in regular heavy-armed foot, and had many galleys: but that his interest was good with Artaphernes the Persian satrap, brother of the great king; and with his assistance, who commanded so great a force by sea and land, what they desired might easily be effected. The expelled Naxians, for the sake of recovering their own possessions, and revenging themselves on their opponents, readily consented to guide a Persian army against a Grecian island. Artaphernes approved the proposal for the expedition. The winter was consumed in preparing two hundred trireme galleys, and a competent land force. Megabates, of the blood royal of Persia, was appointed to the command. To deceive the Naxians, it was reported that the armament was intended for the Hellespont; and accordingly, when the fleet sailed in the spring, its course was first directed that way;

Herodot. i. v.  
c. 28, & seq.

but

CHAP. VIII. but it stopped at Chios, to wait for a northerly wind which would  
 SECT. I. carry it in one night to Naxos.

For the ancient galleys of war, as we have before observed, an open beach, upon which they might be hauled, served as a port; and as from their small width and depth they afforded little convenient shelter for the numerous complement which the ancient mode both of navigation and of naval action required, the crews, for health as well as for convenience, were at every opportunity incamped or quartered ashore\*; a guard only, proportioned to the exigency of the situation, being mounted on every ship. It happened that Megabates, visiting the fleet, found a Grecian galley without its guard. Incensed at such dangerous neglect of discipline, he sent for the captain; and with the haughty and undistinguishing imperiousness of a modern Turkish bashaw, immediately ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window†. Information was presently carried to Aristagoras; who hastened to Megabates, and begged that a man in such a command, and his friend, might not be so opprobriously treated. The Persian refused to relax; upon which Aristagoras went himself and set the captain free. Megabates was of course violently offended. Aristagoras, far from making any submission, insisted that the whole business of the expedition was committed to his direction. With such dissention between the leaders affairs were not likely to be well conducted. According to Herodotus, Megabates himself, as soon as night came on, sent a vessel to Naxos to give information of the real object of the armament. The Naxians, in consequence, who had apprehended nothing from a force professedly designed for the Hellespont, and known to have begun its course northward, immediately drove their cattle, brought all their moveables into the city,

\* See Herodot. b. vi. c. 12. "Οἱα στρατῶν, σκητὰς πελάγειοι, ἐσκηπτοῦντο.

† Διὰ θαλάμης διδόντας τῆς νυκτός. Herodot. l. v. c. 33. 'Vincire trajectum per thalamium navis, id est foramen per quod infirmi remi exant.' Verf. edit. Wesseling. I do not know that I can support the different interpretation which I have given; but it is here of little consequence.

and

and made every preparation for vigorous defence. The fleet at length arrived. The disappointment was great on finding the inhabitants prepared; yet siege was laid to the city of the same name with the island. The place was however so well defended that, after four months, little progress was made. The sums allowed by Artaphernes being then consumed, and much besides from the private fortune of Aristagoras, it became necessary to quit the enterprize. Fortifying therefore a post within the island, in which the Naxian refugees might maintain themselves, the armament, which had suffered considerably, returned to the continent.

Aristagoras now found himself very critically situated: sure of the enmity of Megabates, and reasonably fearing the displeasure of Artaphernes, he expected deprivation of his command at Miletus as the least evil that could ensue. The distress in his private affairs therefore, from his great expences on the expedition, added to the loss of his credit at the satrap's court, the disappointment of all his former hopes, and apprehension of still worse consequences, made him desperate. His credit was yet high, not only in Miletus but through all the Asiatic Grecian cities: the idea arose of exciting a general revolt of them against the Persian government. In this crisis a messenger came to him from Histæus at Susa. That chief highly uneasy under all the honors he received at the Persian court, while he found himself really an exile and a slave, began to see it was intended that his banishment from his native country should be perpetual. In revolving therefore the circumstances which might possibly obtain him the means of returning, none appeared so likely to be efficacious as a revolt in Ionia; and he determined upon the dangerous measure of endeavouring to excite one, hoping that he should infallibly be among those who would be employed to quell it. The method which he is said to have taken to communicate with Aristagoras upon this hazardous subject is curious: Causing the head of a trusty slave to be shaved, he wrote with an indelible stain on the skin of the skull. Having then waited while the hair grew, he dispatched the  
slave

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 35.

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Herodot. l. v.  
c. 36.

slave to Miletus. Nothing more was wanting to determine the wavering resolution of Aristagoras. He founded the principal Milesians, and found them well disposed to his purpose. He then called them together, and made his proposal in form. The restoration of republican government was the lure. Aristagoras offered to resign the tyranny. Of the persons whom he had assembled, Hecataeus the historian, remarkable as one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any reputation with posterity but from whom nothing remains to us, is said alone to have dissuaded the revolt; arguing from the extreme disproportion of any force they could possibly collect and maintain, to that of the Persian empire. Not prevailing, he then recommended particular attention to their marine; for the command of the sea, he said, alone could give them a chance for success. But the revenues of their state, he observed, were very unequal to such an object; and he therefore advised the application of the treasures in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, otherwise a ready prey for the enemy, to that important purpose. The other chiefs, however, scrupled what the vulgar would esteem sacrilege. But upon the whole their measures appear to have been vigorous and wise. Aristagoras immediately resigned the supreme command, and republican government was reestablished in Miletus. The Grecian forces, returned from Naxos, lay still incamped at Myus. The Milesians sent thither Iatragoras, a man of influence, who managed to arrest several of the leaders, tyrants of their respective states. They were sent each to his own city, and delivered to those citizens known to be adverse to tyranny. Most of them were expelled. Coes, who had been raised by Darius to the tyranny of Mitylene, was put to death. Thus, through a general restoration of republican government, all Ionia and Æolia were presently engaged in the revolt.

c. 38.

Aristagoras left nothing unattempted which might contribute to the success of the very hazardous enterprize in which he had engaged himself and his country. He undertook an embassy to Greece, with the hope of gaining the parent states to the cause of the colonies.

He



He went first to Lacedæmon. He endeavoured to rouse the Spartans by urging the shame which redounded to all Greece, and particularly to Lacedæmon the leading state, from the miserable subjection of a Grecian people. He magnified the wealth, and made light of the military force of the Persian empire. He animadverted upon the inferiority of Asiatic courage, of Asiatic arms, and of the Asiatic manner of fighting. He drew an alluring picture of the great and glorious field which Asia offered for the exercise of that military virtue, in which the Spartans so greatly excelled all other people, and he observed how much more worthy it was of their ambition than the scanty frontier for which they had been so long contending with their neighbours the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives, whose nearer approach to them in valor and discipline yet made success more doubtful. He concluded with mentioning no less than the conquest of Asia, and the plunder of Susa itself as attainable objects for the Spartan arms. But the cautious government of Lacedæmon, wholly directed by a few aged men, was not yet ripe for such allurement. Aristagoras was asked how far it was from Miletus to Susa? He answered incautiously, 'A three months journey.' Nothing more was wanting to procure him a firm denial to his request. It was replied, that he could not seriously call himself a friend to the Spartans, who wanted to lead them on a military expedition to the distance of a three months journey; and he was commanded to leave Lacedæmon. Finding then that he could avail nothing publicly, he is said to have attempted to gain king Cleomenes by bribes; but failing in this also he passed to Athens.

## SECTION II.

*Affairs of Athens. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. The Athenians assist the Ionians against Persia. All the Asiatic Grecian States again reduced under the Persian dominion. History of the Athenian Colony in the Thracian Chersonese. Liberal Administration of the conquered Provinces under the Persian dominion.*

- CHAP. VIII. WE left the Athenians just restored to nominal liberty, but in no flourishing circumstances. By turns distracted with domestic factions, pressed by the tyranny of Lacedæmon, and urged by the apprehension of a most formidable attack with which Cleomenes threatened them, they had, by their ambassadors at Sardis, submitted to the humiliation of acknowledging subjection to the Persian king, in hope of obtaining his powerful protection. The conduct of those ambassadors, we are told, was highly reprobated on their return; and it does not appear that any Persian assistance was either given, or farther desired. Yet the danger which hung over Athens might have justified a treaty for protection upon almost any terms. Cleomenes was bent upon revenge. He collected forces from all Peloponnesus, not informing the allies what was his object. At the head of a large army he landed at Eleusis. At the same time, according to previous agreement, the Thebans by a sudden attack took Œnoë and Hysia, Attic boroughs bordering on Bœotia, while the Chalcidians of Eubœa also invaded Attica on their side. It is the common effect of public danger and public misfortune to bring forward great characters, and to excite even ordinary men to great exertion. No individual among the Athenians is particularly noticed by history upon this occasion; but the administration of the commonwealth appears to have been wise and spirited. Neglecting for the present the Thebans and Eubœans, the Athenian leaders directed their whole force against the Peloponnesians, the more formidable enemy. A battle, upon which the fate of Athens

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 73.

c. 74 & seq.

Athens depended, was on the point of being fought, when the Corinthians, angry that they had not been previously consulted concerning the object of the armament, ashamed to be made so egregiously the tools of the revenge of Cleomenes and the ambition of Sparta, and otherwise little desirous to ruin Athens, withdrew their forces. Demaratus king of Sparta, dissatisfied with his colleague and willing to preserve his interest with the Corinthians, retreated with them. These examples sufficed for the other Peloponnesian allies: all withdrew: and Cleomenes was thus reduced to the necessity of hastily, and not without shame, retiring with the small force remaining under his command. The Athenians immediately turned against their other enemies. They overtook the Bœotian army at the Euripus, retreating to join the Chalcidians who had withdrawn into Eubœa. They defeated it; took seven hundred prisoners; and, crossing the Euripus the same day, gained a second victory over the Chalcidians, so complete that they became masters of a tract in Eubœa sufficient to divide among four thousand families of their fellowcountrymen, whom they established as a colony there. The Athenian government enriched their treasury by the ransom of the prisoners, for whom they received two minæ, about six guineas, a head.

Over against Athens, on the southern side of the Saronic gulph, lies the little barren island of Ægina, formerly subject to the neighbouring little state of Epidaurus in Peloponnesus. This island, or rather rock, was a convenient resort for seafaring people, whether merchants or pirates; and, between the two, growing populous and wealthy, had not only shaken off its dependency upon Epidaurus, but was become one of the principal naval powers of Greece\*. Some old causes of enmity subsisted between Ægina and Athens. The Thebans therefore, anxious for revenge against the Athenians, but unable, since the defection of their allies, to prosecute it by their own arms, endeavoured to ingage the Æginetans in their confede-

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 83.  
Chandler's  
Travels in  
Greece, c. 3  
&c 4.

\* Setting aside the unfavorable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was the Jersey and Guernsey of the Grecian seas.

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racy; and, with the help of an unintelligible response from the Delphian oracle, they succeeded. Those islanders surprized and plundered the port of Phalerus, and extended their ravages along a considerable tract of the Attic coast. The Athenians, who had hitherto applied themselves little to naval war, had not immediately the means of revenge, and weightier matters soon required their attention.

Cleomenes was not of a temper to rest under the disappointment and disgrace of his late miscarriage. He left nothing untried to excite a fresh league against Athens. In the Spartan senate he asserted, that when he was besieged in the Athenian citadel, the archives of the republic being then open to him, he had discovered the collusion of the Delphian priests with the Alcmaeonids in regard to the pretended responses of the god commanding the Lacedaemonians to give liberty to Athens. He urged that the Spartan government had therefore acted not less irreligiously and unjustly than imprudently in expelling Hippias; to whom they were bound equally by the sacred laws of hospitality and by the political interest of their country; nor could they do their duty to gods or men otherwise than by restoring him. The Spartan government, already jealous of Athens, consented that Hippias should be invited into Peloponnesus. But it appears to have been now the decided policy of that state to take no step of importance relative to foreign affairs, without the concurrence of their Peloponnesian allies, and particularly of Corinth. Thus was gradually formed a powerful confederacy, of which Lacedaemon was the acknowledged head. The deputies of the allies were therefore summoned upon this occasion, and Cleomenes opened his purpose to them. But to restore an expelled tyrant, in opposition to an established government, was found a measure so unpopular, and the Corinthian deputy particularly condemned it in such strong terms, that Cleomenes himself thought proper to desist from urging the business farther.

Herodot. l. v.  
 c. 90, & seq.

Thucyd. l. i.  
 c. 10.  
 Isocrat. Parnathen.

Hippias,

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Herodot. l. v.  
c. 94.

Hippias, disappointed of the hope thus held out to him, found yet resources in his private character, and the long established reputation of his family. Returning to Sigeium he received invitations from Amyntas king of Macedonia, and from the Theſſalians; the former offering Anthemus, the others Iolcus, for places of ſettlement for himſelf and his partizans. But he had views which induced him to prefer his reſidence in Aſia.

We have now ſeen Perſia attracting the attention of the Greeks of Aſia and the iſlands frequently in the light of a valuable friend, as well as of a tremendous enemy. We have ſeen the democracy itſelf of Athens ſetting the example, among the ſtates of Old Greece, of ſoliciting Perſian protection. Will then the liberal ſpirit of patriotiſm and equal government juſtify the prejudices of Athenian faction, and doom Hippias to peculiar execration, becauſe at length he alſo, with many of his fellowcitizens, deſpairing of other means for ever returning to their native country, applied to Artaphernes at Sardis? The reſort of Greeks from various parts to the ſatrap's court and capital, ſome with political, ſome with mercantile views, was ſuch that the Athenian government would not be likely to remain uninformed of what publicly paſſed there concerning them. Hippias found the attention which his rank and character might claim. The Athenian government, reaſonably apprehenſive of the conſequences, ſent to requeſt that Artaphernes would not countenance their baniſhed citizens. The Perſian prince gave for his final anſwer to their ambaffadors, ' That if the Athenians would be ſaſe they muſt receive ' Hippias.' The return of theſe ambaffadors put Athens in a ferment. Univerſal indignation, not without a great mixture of alarm, was excited. It was at this critical moment that Ariſtagoras arrived from Sparta, to ſolicit aſſiſtance to the Ionian confederacy againſt the oppreſſion of Perſia. Being introduced into the aſſembly of the people, he repeated thoſe arguments which at Lacedæmon had been unavailing. He added, that Miletus, as an Athenian colony, might reaſonably claim aſſiſtance in its diſtreſs from a parent ſtate ſo powerful.

c. 96.

c. 97.

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ful. He omitted nothing that could flatter, allure, or excite commiseration; and having, as Herodotus observes, everything at stake, there was nothing that he was not ready to promise; and he prevailed. Twenty ships were voted to assist the Ionians; and these ships, adds the historian, were the beginning of evils to Greeks and barbarians.

Ol. lxx 1.\*

B. C. 500.

Herodot. l. v.

c. 99, &amp; seq.

The administration of Artaphernes appears to have been negligent and weak. The Athenian ships arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians of Eubœa. The combined fleet sailed to Ephesus; and by a bold stroke to profit from the Persian remissness, the land forces debarking, marched directly to Sardis. So totally was Artaphernes unprepared for suppressing the revolt, and so little even for his own security, tho he had a considerable force with him, he immediately abandoned the town, and shut himself within the castle. The Grecian troops entered the town. In the first tumult a house was set on fire. Many of the houses of Sardis were walled with reed, and those built of brick had mostly their roofs of reed. The flame therefore spread rapidly through all the outskirts of the town. The inhabitants, Persians as well as Lydians, before without order or compact, solicitous every one for his own, were thus driven to assemble in the Agora and in the course of the torrent Pactolus which runs through the middle of it. Accident and necessity having collected them, they found themselves strong enough to attempt defence. The Greeks, stopped by the flames in their career of plunder, which had been their principal object, and finding a large body of men to engage, advantageously posted, and whose numbers were continually increasing, amid the hesitation of disappointment

\* Dr. Blair, and even the Chronologia Herodoti in Wesseling's edition, have placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier. But Herodotus expressly says (1), that the war lasted but six years. From the end of it he very clearly marks (2) three to the second year of the satrapy of Mardonius;

and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Datis (3), who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Dr. Blair, with all other chronologers, places 490 years before the Christian era.

(1) b. vi. c. 18.

(2) c. 31. 43. &amp; 46.

(3) c. 94.



determined to retire to mount Tmolus; whence in the night they continued their retreat to their ships. News of the event was quickly conveyed throughout the provinces within the river Halys. Troops hastened from all parts to Sardis. The Persians were not yet accustomed to yield. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and found them under the walls of Ephesus. A battle ensued, in which the Greeks were intirely defeated; many of their principal officers were killed, and those of the survivors who avoided captivity, dispersed to their several cities. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships; and, tho strongly solicited, would no more take part in the war.

The Ionians nevertheless continued to prosecute vigorous measures. Wisely avoiding farther attempts by land, they confined their offensive operations to the sea. Their fleet sailed first to the Hellespont, and brought Byzantium, with the other Grecian towns on the Propontis, under their subjection or into their alliance. Then directing their course southward, they were equally successful with most of the Carian cities. About the same time Onesilus king of Salamis in Cyprus, in pursuit of his own views of ambition, had persuaded all that island to revolt against the Persians, except the city of Amathus. To this he laid siege. Receiving then information that a Phenician fleet was bringing a Persian army to its relief, he sent to desire alliance with the Ionians, and assistance from their navy, as in a common cause. The Ionians, without long deliberation, determined to accept the alliance offered, and to send the assistance desired. The enemy had however landed their army before the Ionian fleet arrived. On the same day, it is said, two battles were fought; between the Persians and Cyprians by land, and between the Ionians and Phenicians at sea. In the seafight the Greeks were victorious, the Samians particularly distinguishing themselves; but by land the Cyprians were defeated: Onesilus was killed, and the Persians quickly recovered the whole island.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 103.

c. 104.

But

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Herodot. I. v.  
c. 106, & seq.

But while victory thus attended the fleet of Ionia, the country was totally exposed to the superior landforce of the enemy. The Persian general Daurises, leading an army to the Hellespont, took the four towns Abydus, Percote, Lampascus, and Pæsus, in as many days. Then, informed that the Carians had joined in the revolt, he marched southward and defeated that people in a great battle. The routed troops, joined by the Ionian army, ventured a second battle, and were again defeated; the Ionians now principally suffering. But Heracleides of Mylasa, general of the Carians, was one of those superior men who, acquiring wisdom from misfortune, can profit even from a defeat. The Persian army proceeded, with that careless confidence which victory is apt to inspire, as if nothing remained but to take possession of the Carian towns. A mountainous tract was to be passed. Heracleides, well acquainted with the country, silently pre-occupied the defiles. The Persians, intangled among the mountains, were attacked by surprise: Daurises fell, with many officers of high rank, and his army was completely defeated.

But the resources of a vast empire enabled the Persians to act in too many places at once for the Ionians to oppose them with any prospect of final success. When Daurises marched toward Caria, Hymeas had turned from the Propontis toward the Hellespont, and quickly recovered all the northern part of Æolia. At the same time Artaphernes himself, leading an army to the confines of Æolia and Ionia, took Cuma and Clazomenæ. Then assembling the bodies which had hitherto been acting separately, it became evidently his design to form the siege of Miletus, the head of the rebellion, by taking which he might finish the war. Aristagoras saw the gathering storm, and could see no means of withstanding it. Herodotus accuses him of pusillanimity, apparently without reason. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, there could be no pardon for him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's

c. 123, & seq.



enemy's revenge. He determined therefore to quit Miletus. He communicated this resolution to his fellowcitizens, and waiting to see Pythagoras, a man high in rank and esteem among them, appointed to the chief command in his room, he sailed, with as many as chose to follow his fortune, to that territory on the river Strymon in Thrace which Darius had given to Histæus. Having put this colony in a way to prosper, he was afterward killed in besieging a Thracian town.

Histæus, meanwhile, had obtained his release from his honorable imprisonment in the Persian court: Darius sent him to Sardis to assist in quelling the rebellion. But the Persian officers there, better informed than the ministers at Susa, were not disposed to trust him; and Histæus finding himself suspected, fled by night into Ionia, and passed to Chios. The Ionians however were not generally well inclined to him: some viewing in him the former tyrant, others the author of their present calamities and danger. His fellowcitizens the Milesians absolutely refused him admission into their city: but he found more favor at Mitylene, where he obtained a loan of eight ships, with which he sailed to Byzantium, and thence made prize of all vessels passing from the Black Sea, except of those Greeks who were disposed to his interest.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 106, 107.  
l. vi. c. 1, &  
seq.

It was now the sixth year of the war when the Persian army sat down before Miletus. To assist its operations, which otherwise might have been ineffectual, a large fleet was collected, chiefly from Phenicia; but Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt also contributed. On the other side the Panionian assembly was summoned to deliberate on measures in circumstances so critical. It was there determined not to oppose the Persian army in the field; but to leave Miletus to its own defence by land, while every nerve should be strained to increase their force at sea; and it was ordered that all the ships of war which every state of the confederacy could furnish should assemble at Lade, a small island overagainst the port of Miletus, and try the event of a

Ol. lxxi. 3.  
B. C. 494.  
Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 6, & seq.

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Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 184.

naval engagement \*. The enumeration given by Herodotus of the trireme galleys sent by each state is probably not unfounded, and may show in some degree the comparative strength of the Ionian cities. From Miletus came eighty, Priene twelve, Myus three, Teos seventeen, Chios a hundred, Erythræ eight, Phocæa, weak since its capture by Harpagus and the emigration of its people, only three, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty; the whole making three hundred fifty-three. This indeed appears a very great naval force for those little states to assemble and maintain; the ordinary complement for a trireme galley in that age, or very shortly after, being two hundred men. The crews of the Ionian fleet would thus be above seventy thousand. The number of the enemy's ships was much greater; Herodotus says it amounted to six hundred. Yet the Persian leaders had so little confidence in an armament of which little or no part was Persian, that they feared to risk a naval engagement. But command of the sea was absolutely necessary to their final success by land. They had with them most of the Ionian and Æolian tyrants, who had been expelled from their several cities at the beginning of the revolt. Through these they endeavoured to practice separately upon the squadron of each state. They promised complete pardon, both for themselves and their fellowcitizens, to any who would quit the confederacy; and their threats were indeed terrible to those who should persevere in it. The men, they said, should be reduced to slavery, the boys should be made eunuchs; the virgins should be carried into Bactria, and their towns and territories should be given to others. Neither the offered favor, however, nor the threats were at first regarded. But disunion in command, the common defect of confederacies, prevailed in the Grecian fleet. A general relaxation of discipline infused; and at length the Samian leaders, foreseeing nothing

\* The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Lade to be an island. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the mud brought down by the river Latmus, and Lade is an emi-

nence in a plain. See the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece* par M. de Choiseul Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Mæander, underwent earlier the same fate.

but ruin to the cause in which they were engaged, began to listen to the proposals made to them from *Æaces* the expelled tyrant of their island. Weighing the resources of their confederacy against those of the Persian empire, as *Herodotus* says for them, they judged that the contention on their part must in the end prove vain; since should they, with all their disadvantage in numbers, prevail in the approaching action, still another fleet would unfailingly soon be raised against them. Urged by these considerations, they privately concluded a treaty. The Persian leaders then no longer scrupled to quit the port and risk an engagement. The Grecian fleet advancing to meet them, the Samian commander gave the signal to his squadron to set their sails. This clearly indicated intention to fly; for the ancients in action used oars only. The captains of eleven galleys wilfully disobeyed the signal, and stood the battle; the rest sailed away. The line of battle of a fleet among the ancients was that alone which in our sea-phrases is called the line of battle abreast: they met prow opposed to prow\*. The station of the Samians had been in the extreme of one wing. The Lesbians, next in the line, disconcerted by the unexpected exposure of their flank, as well as by the alarming desertion of their allies, presently fled. The Chians remained firm; and, fighting with the most determined bravery against unequal numbers, suffered greatly. Even in their defeat, however, it appeared that, tho' the Phenician ships still excelled in swiftness, and their seamen in skill as mariners, yet the Greeks were advancing to a superiority in naval action above other nations. The Phocæan commander *Dionysius*, having with his three galleys taken three of the enemy's, when he found the battle irrecoverably lost, and the Ionian affairs consequently desperate, would return no more to Phocæa; but, sailing immediately to the coast of Phenicia, made prize of a number of merchant-ships. Having thus enriched himself and his crews, he sailed to Sicily to enjoy himself there; and thence

\* Ὅσοις πρὶν ἀντίσταντο τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς σπένδουσιν. *Xenoph. Lac. Polit. c. xi.*

CHAP. VIII. afterward, as necessity or thirst of gain impelled, he exercised piracy  
 SECT. II. against the Carthaginians and Tuscans.

The Persians now, masters of the sea, pressed the siege of Miletus, and at length succeeded in an assault. Most of the men within the place were killed: the rest, with the women and children, were led to Susa; testimonies to the great king of the diligence of his officers, and examples of terror to other conquered provinces. Darius however, according to the honorable testimony borne to him by Herodotus, did them no other ill \* than to settle them at Ampe on the Euphrates, near where that river discharges itself into the Persian gulph. The rich vale of Miletus was divided among Persians; Carians were established in the mountainous part of its territory. *Ææces*, in reward for his service, was restored to the tyranny of Samos: but a large proportion of the Samian people, averse to his government, emigrated to Sicily. In the time of Herodotus there stood a column in the agora of the city of Samos, with an inscription in honor of the eleven captains who had bravely fought in the common cause at the risk of punishment for disobedience to their immediate commander. But the erection of this column must have been subsequent to the government of *Ææces*.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 26.

*Histiæus*, on the reduction of Miletus, moved from Byzantium to Lesbos, where he seems to have had great interest. Hence, according to Herodotus, he carried on a piratical war against the Greeks no less than against the Persians, in a manner which, notwithstanding numberless instances of extreme readiness in the Greeks at all times to make petty war among one another, appears rather unaccountable. At length landing on the coast of Asia Minor for plunder, he was made prisoner by the Persian general Harpagus; and being sent to Sardis was there crucified.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 31, 32.  
Ol. lxxi. 4.  
B. C. 493.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus. Sailing in the spring, the islands Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos immediately submitted. The army at the same time proceeded against the Ionian towns, and the generals,

\* — καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο ποιήσας. Herodot. l. vi. c. 20.

far otherwise disposed than their master, executed the full vengeance which they had threatened: the handsomest Grecian boys were made eunuchs, the most beautiful girls were carried off; the towns, and, as the Grecian writers particularly observe, without sparing the temples, were burnt.

After the reduction of the islands the fleet sailed to the Hellespont. All on the Asiatic side was already subject to the Persians, and nothing on the European shore now stood against them. Devastation was spread by sword and fire. The Byzantians and Chalcedonians best avoided the storm, flying betimes with their most valuable effects, and planting the territory of Mesambria far in the Euxine sea. The Phenicians burnt the empty towns. Then returning to the Hellespont, all the Thracian Chersonese immediately submitted, except the town of Cardia. Herodot. i. vi. c. 33.

This peninsula, which by way of eminence was commonly called simply the Chersonese, had been planted by a colony of Athenians, whose history is not unimportant among the transactions of Greece and Persia. During the tyranny of Peisistratus at Athens the Doloncian Thracians, ancient inhabitants of the Chersonese, pressed in war by the Apfinthians, sent their chiefs to ask advice of the god of Delphi. The oracle directed them to invite into their country, to found a colony there, the first person who, after their quitting the temple, should ask them to the rights of hospitality. The Dolonicians, directing their journey homeward, passed through Phocis and Bœotia without receiving any invitation. Turning then into Attica, their way led them by the house of Miltiades son of Cypselus. That Athenian happening to be in his portico, and seeing men pass in a foreign dress and carrying spears, accosted them, and offered refreshment. They accepted the invitation; and being hospitably entertained, they related the oracular response which they had received. Miltiades was of a very ancient, honorable and wealthy family of Attica. Herodotus mentions, as a circumstance to ascertain its eminence, that it was a family accustomed to keep a chariot with four horses; probably meaning, as the critics have explained Herodot. i. vi. c. 34 & seq.

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plained it, that the family of Miltiades had been accustomed to contend at the Olympian festival in the race of chariots with four horses; which certainly implied considerable wealth in a country like Attica, little naturally adapted to breeding and keeping horses. Miltiades, himself popular and ambitious, was not well with the faction of Peisistratus; and thence was the more prepared to accept the invitation of the Thracians. Collecting therefore a number of Athenians, either disposed to his interest, or averse to the prevailing power, all of whom Peisistratus would gladly see depart from Athens, he established his colony, and was raised to the tyranny of the Chersonese. Dying childless, his authority passed, as a part of his estate, to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon his brother by the mother. Stesagoras also died childless. His younger brother Miltiades was then at Athens, in favor with Hippias and Hipparchus\*; who, whether with any idea of legal claim of authority of the mother-country over the colony, or merely to extend their own power, sent young Miltiades, at the same time to collect his inheritance, and to take upon him the public administration of the affairs of the Chersonese. It appears that the young chief carried his authority with a high hand: he kept a body of five hundred guards in constant pay: to strengthen his interest in the country he married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus a Thracian prince; and Tyrant of the Chersonese is the title of Miltiades among all the earlier Greek historians†.

Herodot. l. iv.  
c. 137.  
Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

Such was the state of things when Darius led his army into Europe. Miltiades then yielded to a power which he certainly was unable to resist: he followed the Persian monarch's orders on the Scythian expedition. He is celebrated for having proposed among the Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge over the Danube, which had been intrusted to their care while Darius was in Scythia; hoping that so the prince and his army, between famine and the Scythian sword, might

\* The Peisistratids. Herodot. l. vi. c. 39.

† Chersones, omnes illos quos habitabat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, Tyrannusque fuerat appellatus. The bio-

grapher adds SED JUSTUS, and proceeds to explain the early Grecian sense of the term TYRANT. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

perish,



perish, and the Grecian states thus might be delivered from the Persian power. How far this proposal, certainly perfidious, can be justified upon Grecian principles either of philosophy or of patriotism, may be difficult to determine. We may however credit the assertion of Herodotus and Nepos, that interest more than integrity induced the other Grecian tyrants to oppose it: for they esteemed the supremacy of Persia the best security to their own authority against the democratical disposition of their people. Herodotus reports that an army of Scythians, bent upon revenging the Persian invasion, obliged Miltiades to fly the Chersonese. He must have been however, according to the same historian, popular in his government, at least among the Thracians, since, on the departure of the Scythians, they recalled him. We are not told that he took any active part in the Ionian revolt; but his flight from the Chersonese, after the defeat of the Grecian fleet off Miletus, shows that he knew himself obnoxious to the Persians. Putting his effects aboard five trireme galleys, he steered for Athens. The Phœnician fleet pursued him, and took one of his galleys commanded by his eldest son. Here again Herodotus bears very honorable testimony to Darius. The son of Miltiades, as a prisoner of rank and consequence, was sent to receive his doom at Susa. But instead of punishment as a rebel, which his captors expected, Darius was liberal of favor to him, giving him an estate and a Persian lady for his wife, by whom he had a family which became numbered among the Persians. If Herodotus had authority for this anecdote, it may, together with the treatment of the captive Milesians, justify the opinion which he advances, that Darius would have pardoned even Histæus, had he not been prevented by the jealous haste of his officers, who executed that unfortunate but apparently little meritorious chief, without waiting for orders from the king.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 43. & Plu-  
tarch. de sera  
Num. Vind.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 30.

From the same impartial historian however we learn, that the superintendency of the Persian government over the conquered people was, in general, correspondent to the disposition of the monarch, liberal and mild. The first vengeance for the rebellion being over,  
the

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the Ionians remaining in the country became again objects of care and protection. No mark of enmity was shown during the remainder of that year, but very beneficial regulations, says the historian, were made\*. Sending for deputies from the several cities, Artaphernes compelled the Ionians to pledge themselves to one another that they would abstain from that piratical, thieving and murdering kind of petty war, to which the Greeks at all times and in all parts were strongly addicted; and that all controversies between cities, as between individuals, should be determined by regular course of law†.

## SECTION III.

*First Persian Armament against Greece under Mardonius: proceeds no farther than Macedonia. The Grecian Cities summoned by Heralds to acknowledge subjection to the Persian Empire. Internal Feuds in Greece: War of Athens and Ægina.*

OL. lxxii. 1.  
B.C. 492.  
Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 43.

IN the second spring after the reduction of Miletus, a great change was made in the administration of the provinces bordering on the Grecian seas. Artaphernes was recalled, with most of the principal officers of his satrapy, and Mardonius, a young man of highest rank, who had lately married a daughter of Darius, was sent to take that great and important command. He led with him a very numerous army. On the coast of Cilicia he met a large fleet attending his orders; and, going aboard, he sailed to Ionia, leaving the army to be conducted by the generals under him to the Hellespont. Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis, was the avowed intention of this formidable armament. But considering all the best information remaining to us of the character of Darius and of the circumstances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same causes which we have supposed to have before induced that monarch

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 44.  
Plato, Menex.  
p. 240. t. ii.  
ed. Serran.

\* — οὐδὲν εἰς νίκης ἕξιν, ἀλλὰ χεῖρισται πάντα. Herodot. l. vi. c. 42.

† — ἵνα δεσίδικοι ᾖεν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φερίαν τε καὶ ἄγων. Herodot. ibid.

himself



himself to lead an army into Scythia, still existed in considerable force, and were the principal motives also to the permission of this enterprise. Mardonius seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary things. Arriving in Ionia he deposed all the tyrants, and established democratical government in every Grecian city; a measure so opposite to the general policy of Persia, that Herodotus speaks of it as a wonder next to incredible among the people of old Greece. Collecting then from the Ionians and Æolians a considerable addition to his forces both of sea and land, he proceeded to the Hellespont, and passed into Europe. All as far as Macedonia was already subject to Persia. That kingdom, which had before bought its peace by submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the delivery of earth and water, was now brought under more effective subjection, and compelled to the payment of tribute. But the fleet, in doubling the promontory of Athos, lost no less than three hundred vessels by a storm, with, it was reported, twenty thousand men. The army also suffered considerably in a sudden attack from the Brygians, a Thracian people, in which Mardonius himself was wounded. If he would persevere in his purpose of pushing conquest farther, he must therefore begin with subduing the Brygians. This he effected; but the season being then too much advanced to attempt more, he led back the whole armament to winter in Asia.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 44, & l. vii.  
c. 108.

The first object in the next spring was the little island of Thasus, formerly the seat of the principal Phœnician factory in the Ægean sea; barren in its soil, but rich by its gold mines, and still more by those which its inhabitants possessed on the neighbouring continent of Thrace. To secure themselves rather than to offend others, the Thasians had lately employed a part of their wealth in building ships of war, and improving the fortifications of their town. An order came to them in the name of the Persian king to raze their fortifications, and to send all their ships of war to the Persian naval arsenal at Abdera. They obeyed. Then heralds were sent into Greece, demanding of every city acknowledgement of subjection to Darius by the delivery

Ol. lxxii. 2.  
B. C. 491.  
Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 46 & seq.

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of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the islands\*.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 82, & l. vi.  
c. 49.

It is an old observation, which the history of nations gives frequent occasion to repeat, that circumstances in themselves the most trifling often produce the greatest events. The old enmity between Athens and Ægina, said to have originated about a wooden statue, appears to have contributed not a little to lead the Athenians to that determined opposition to Persia, and to that alliance of their state with Lacedæmon, which together, in saving Greece from subjection, gave the Grecian people to be what they afterward became. As soon as it was known at Athens that the Æginetans had acknowledged themselves subjects to Persia, ministers were sent to Sparta to accuse them as traitors to Greece. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprize, but unshaken in principle, firm in resolve, and immoveable by danger. Independency on any foreign state was the great object of all its singular institutions; and far from bowing to a superior power, it had for some time been not unsuccessfully aspiring to dominion over others. The haughty demand of Persia therefore could not but find at Lacedæmon a determined refusal. Both there and at Athens, it is said, the public indignation vented itself in barbarian inhumanity: the Persian heralds were with ignominy and scoffing put to death; at one place being thrown into

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 133.

a pit, at the other into a well, and told there to take their earth and water. But the power of that vast empire was so really formidable, and in general opinion so nearly irresistible, that to find Athens heartily disposed to alliance in opposition to it, would be esteemed by the Lacedæmonians a circumstance the more fortunate, as the late enmity between the two commonwealths had been violent. Other circumstances concurred at this time to promote the union. The ancient animosity between Lacedæmon and Argos had been revived and even heightened by recent transactions. Cleomenes king of Sparta, having

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 76 & seq.

\* Herodotus says ALL; but he afterward has excepted Eubœa and Crete; or at least excepts the little islands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos (1). Apparently he should also

(1) B. vii. c. 46.

invaded

invaded Argolis and gained a battle, massacred a large body of Argians who had surrendered themselves on promises of safety. Inveteracy therefore and near neighbourhood would make Argos, however thus weakened, a dangerous enemy. Thebes moreover, formerly the principal ally of Sparta beyond Peloponnesus, and the ancient enemy of Athens, had been led by its prevailing faction to submit to the demands of Persia. Upon all these accounts the Athenian ambassadors were very favorably received at Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, vehement in all his undertakings, went himself to Ægina, intending to seize the persons of those who had been forward in leading the people of that island to the obnoxious measure. He was opposed and prevented in his purpose; but not without a remarkable acknowledgement of the authority of the Spartan state. It was replied to him, 'that he came merely as an individual; the Æginetan people would have obeyed a regular order from the Lacedæmonian government.'

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 52.

But a dissention between the Spartan kings, the more dangerous on account of the present crisis of Grecian affairs, had been long growing, and was now come to its height. Demaratus had endeavoured to excite the leading men against his absent colleague. Cleomenes, on his return, no longer keeping any measure, asserted that Demaratus was illegitimately born; and encouraging Leotychides, the next in succession of the Procleid family, to claim the crown against him, supported the pretension with all his interest. The legitimacy of Demaratus's birth was brought into real doubt; and where the judgement of men could not decide, recourse was had to the Delphian oracle. Herodotus, who is not scrupulous of speaking freely of oracles, tells upon this occasion a very circumstantial story of bribery practised by Cleomenes to procure a response from the Pythonefs favorable to his views; and the report indeed appears to have found general credit in Greece. Demaratus, in consequence of that response, was immediately deposed. Finding then his situation irksome, and perhaps unsafe in Sparta, he retired to the island of Zacynthus; and, being there still persecuted by Cleomenes, he fled to the Persian court.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 51 & seq.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 66.

Pausan. l. iii.  
c. 4.

CHAP. VIII. Cleomenes, now unopposed in his measures, took Leotychides with  
 SECT. III. him to Ægina; and such was the authority which reputation had ac-  
 Herodot. l. vi. quired to their state, the Æginetan government, generally haughty  
 c. 73. enough through presumption in its naval force and the security of its  
 insular situation, submitted implicitly to their commands. Ten of  
 the principal men of the island were arrested and sent to Athens,  
 there to remain pledges of the fidelity of the Æginetan people to the  
 Grecian cause.

But the hasty passion of Cleomenes at length became lasting phrenzy.  
 Herodot. l. vi. Many strange actions are reported of him, and the last was fatal to  
 c. 75. himself: snatching a sword from a Helot under whose care he was  
 Paulan. l. iii. confined, he deliberately cut himself piecemeal.  
 c. 4. Plutarch.  
 Apoph. Lac.

The disposition to enmity between Athens and Ægina shortly  
 broke out into action. The detail which Herodotus gives of this  
 little war is not an unworthy object of history, as it tends to show  
 the state of Greece at that important period when her little com-  
 monwealths were first assailed by the tremendous might of Persia.  
 The reader should cast his eye upon the map, and see there what  
 Ægina is. Ægina was a formidable foe to Athens. Its rulers, having  
 Herodot. l. vi. made their peace with Leotychides so as to procure his mediation  
 c. 85 & seq. with the Athenian government for the restoration of the Æginetan  
 hostages, could not yet obtain them. Bent therefore upon revenge,  
 they intercepted a large galley, in which many Athenians of rank  
 were going to an annual religious festival at Delos. But Ægina, like  
 all other Grecian states, had its factions. The oligarchial now pre-  
 vailed; and Nicodromus, a considerable man of the opposite party,  
 had found it prudent to retire from his country. The present oppor-  
 tunity invited to connect his interest with that of Athens. A plan  
 of surprize was concerted with the Athenian government, and Ni-  
 codromus, who had many friends in the island, made himself  
 master of that called the old town of Ægina. But the Athenians;  
 not possessing a sufficient naval force to cope with the Æginetan  
 fleet, had applied to Corinth, then in close alliance with them,  
 for

for a loan of twenty ships. These arrived a day too late; the whole plan in consequence failed; and Nicodromus, with many of his adherents, embarking, fled to Attica. The Athenians allotted them a settlement near the promontory Sunium; whence they made continual assaults and depredations upon the Æginetans of the island. The prevailing party in Ægina meanwhile vented revenge against the remaining persons of the opposite faction, so shocking that in these times it appears hardly credible. Yet one circumstance only, of particular affront to a goddess, seems to have struck either the Greeks of that age, or the historian in the next, as a peculiar enormity. Seven hundred citizens were led out at once to execution. One of them, getting loose from his bonds, fled to a temple of Ceres, and laid fast hold on the gate. His pursuers endeavoured to pull him away; but his strength baffling them, they chopped off his hands, and thus mangled led him to suffer death with his fellows. The Æginetans were soon after defeated in a naval engagement. The Athenians then landed on the island, and the Æginetans from Sunium were not likely to be advocates for mercy to their fellowcountrymen. Of a thousand Argians who had come to assist the Æginetans of the island, the greater part were slain. Still, with their shattered navy, the Æginetans attacked the Athenian fleet by surprize and took four galleys.

## SECTION IV.

*Second Persian Armament against Greece under Datis and Artabernes : reduces the Islands of the Ægean : invades Attica. Battle of Marathon.*

SUCH was the virulence of enmity among the Greeks toward one another at the very time when the great storm was approaching from the East, which threatened a final period to that independency of their little republics, the source of these horrid violences. The little

CHAP. VIII.  
SECT. IV.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 94, & seq.  
Plato. Menex.  
p. 240. t. ii.  
& de Leg. l. iii.  
p. 698. t. ii.  
Ol. lxxii. 3.  
B. C. 490.

little success of Mardonius in his expedition had probably afforded means for intrigue to take effect to his disadvantage in the court of Susa. He was recalled, and the command at Sardis was given to Artaphernes, son of the late satrap of that name, with whom was joined Datis, a Median nobleman, probably of greater experience. These generals also, leading a land force from the interior provinces, met the fleet on the coast of Cilicia. The conquest of Greece being the object, it was determined to avoid the circuitous march by Thrace and Macedonia. A sufficiency of transports having been collected, the whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, were embarked, and coasted Asia-minor as far as Samos. Hither the Ionian and Æolian troops and vessels were summoned. All being assembled, the generals directed their course across the Ægean sea, first to Naxos. The inhabitants of that island, notwithstanding their former successful defence, durst not abide this formidable armament: quitting their city they fled to their mountains. The Persians burnt the town, with its temples: the few Naxians who fell into their hands were made slaves. The fleet proceeded to the neighbouring islands, receiving their submission, and taking everywhere the children of the principal families as hostages. No opposition was found till they arrived at Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians, with more spirit than prudence, declared they would neither join in hostilities against their neighbours and fellowcountrymen, nor give hostages. Waste of their lands, and siege laid to their town, soon obliged them to comply with whatsoever the Persian generals chose to command.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 100, 101.

The storm now approached Eretria. Punishment to that city was one of the declared objects of the armament. Little hope therefore could be entertained of good terms for the community. In this desperate situation of public affairs, temptation was strong for individuals to endeavour, by whatsoever means, to secure themselves. While therefore a deputation was sent by public authority to request assistance from Athens, many of the citizens were for flying to the mountains; others were disposed to betray the city to the enemy; some

some of them thinking, perhaps not unreasonably, that beside gaining for themselves favorable terms, they might even lessen the horrors of capture to the city at large, by preventing the shock of arms, and the further irritation of an irresistible foe. The Athenians so far complied with the request made to them, as to direct that the four thousand colonists, lately sent from Athens into Eubœa, should assist in the defence of Eretria. The aid would have been important, had the Eretrians been united in council and prepared for a siege; or had there been any reasonable prospect of farther relief from the rest of Greece. But Æschines, son of Nothos, one of the principal citizens, seeing defence hopeless, advised the colonists, by a timely retreat, to reserve themselves for the defence of their native country, which would next be attacked; and, if saved, might still afford, possibly even to the Eretrians, a refuge from Persian tyranny. The colonists accordingly crossed to Oropus, and arrived safe in Attica. The Persians soon appeared off the Eretrian coast. The little sea-port towns of Chœreas and Ægilia were immediately abandoned: there the army debarked. Among the Eretrians, the resolution had finally prevailed to defend the city. During six days the Persian assaults were vigorously opposed. On the seventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt: the inhabitants were condemned to slavery.

The Persian generals allowed but a few days rest to their forces before they crossed into Attica; having Hippias, formerly tyrant of that country, now of advanced age, it being the twentieth year from his expulsion, for their guide and counsellor. In this alarming situation of Greece, no measures had been concerted for general security. The Asian Greeks had been first subdued. The Persian dominion then extended itself into Europe as far as the confines of Thessaly. All the islands had now fallen. Eubœa, which might be reckoned an appurtenance of the Grecian main, was conquered. The Persian army passed the narrow channel which separates them, and still no league for common defence seems even to have been proposed. On the

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 102.  
Thucyd. l. vi.  
c. 59.

CHAP. VIII.  
SECT. IV.Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 126.  
Strabo, l. ix.  
p. 399.

the capture of Eretria, a messenger was sent from Athens to Lacedæmon with the news, and at the same time to request assistance. The Lacedæmonians readily promised their utmost help; but their laws and their religion, they said, forbade them to march before the full moon, of which it wanted five days. As things now stood indeed, probability of successful opposition was so small that perhaps we ought not to impute to any base or unreasonable selfishness the caution of the Lacedæmonian government, though we should believe that policy or irresolution, more than religion, detained their army. The messenger however, Pheidippides, a runner by profession, having performed his journey with extraordinary celerity, related a story on his return which might be not unavailing to inspire confidence into the Athenian populace. As he was going, he said, over the Parthenian mountain above Tegea in Arcadia, the god Pan called to him by name. He stopped in obedience to the voice, when it proceeded, commanding him to tell the Athenians, ‘That they were wrong in  
‘ paying no worship to a deity so well disposed to them, who had often  
‘ served them, and intended them farther favor.’ The worship of the god Pan was in consequence introduced at Athens.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 103, & seq.

There was fortunately at this time, among the principal Athenians, a man qualified both by genius and experience to take the lead on a momentous occasion. It was Miltiades the expelled chief of the Chersonese. But on his flight to Athens, Miltiades had not immediately found it a place of secure refuge. A prosecution was commenced against him for the crime of tyranny\*. In another season, however indefinite the crime, and however inapplicable every existing law to any act of the accused, a popular assembly might have pronounced condemnation. In the present crisis he was not only acquitted, but, after the common manner of the flood of popular favor, raised by the voice of the people to be one of the ten commanders in chief of the army†. Immediate assistance from Sparta being denied, it

\* Ὅτι δὲ ἀναγκάσειον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ Herodot. l. vi. c. 104.

† Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀποδείχθη, ἀρετῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δῆμου. Herodot. ib.

became



became a question with the ten generals, whether the bold step should be ventured of meeting the enemy in the field; or whether their whole diligence should be applied to prepare for a siege. It happened that opinions were equally divided; in which case, by ancient custom, the polemarch archon was to be called in to give the casting vote. The argument attributed by Herodotus to Miltiades upon this occasion not only tends very much to explain both the politics and the temper of the times, but accounts satisfactorily why that able commander, contrary to every common principle of defensive war, was for risking at once a decisive engagement with an enemy in numbers so very superior. ‘It depends upon you,’ said Miltiades in a conference with the polemarch Callimachus, ‘either to reduce Athens to slavery, or, by establishing her freedom, to leave an eternal memory of yourself among men, more glorious than even Harmodius and Aristogeiton have acquired. For never before, since the Athenians were a people, did a danger like the present threaten them. If, yielding to the Persians, they are delivered into the power of Hippias, let it be thought what their sufferings will be. But if they conquer, Athens will become the first city of Greece. Should they then, by your decision, be debarred from presently engaging the enemy, I well know that faction will be dividing the minds of our citizens; and a party among them will not scruple to make terms with the Persians to the destruction of the rest. But if we engage before any corrupt disposition prevails, the gods only dispensing equal favor, we are able to conquer.’ The polemarch yielded to this argument.

The Persians had now for two or three generations been accustomed to almost uninterrupted success in war. They had many times engaged the Greeks of Asia and Cyprus; and tho the accounts come to us from Grecian historians only, yet we read of no considerable defeat they had ever suffered, except once in Caria; when, by the abilities of Heracleides of Mylasa, their general Daurises was surprized among defiles. The army under Datis and Artaphernes there-

CHAP. VIII.  
SECT. IV.Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.

Plato. Menex.

Justin. l. ii.  
c. 9.Corn. Nep.  
v. Miltiad.  
Pausan. l. x.  
c. 20.

fore advanced toward Athens, confident of superiority to all opposition in the field. Herodotus does not mention their numbers. According to Cornelius Nepos, they were a hundred thousand effective foot, and ten thousand horse; a very large force to be transported by sea from Asia: yet Plato, meaning probably to include the seamen and the various multitude of attendants upon Asiatic troops, calls the whole armament five hundred thousand; and Trogus Pompeius, according to his epitomizer Justin, did not scruple to add a hundred thousand more. Herodotus has not either ventured to report the numbers which the Athenians brought into the field: he only says that they were very inferior to the Persians; and later writers have not less contradicted probability in diminishing the Grecian than in exaggerating the Persian force. According to Nepos and Pausanias, the Athenians were only nine thousand, and the Plataeans, joining them with the whole strength of their little commonwealth, added only one thousand. But sufficient assurance remains to us that Attica was capable of raising a greater force, and upon such an emergency it would exert its utmost \*. The genius of Miltiades however, rather than the strength of Athens, appears upon this occasion the shining instrument in the hand of providence for the preservation of Greece. It was no season for ceremony. Abilities, wherever they were con-

\* Pausanias says (1) that the battle of Marathon was the first occasion upon which the Athenians admitted slaves to military service; meaning probably to service with the freemen in the heavy infantry; because it appears from Herodotus to have been no new practice to make slaves do duty as light troops. It seems a necessary inference, what we might otherwise indeed naturally suppose, that the utmost strength of Athens was exerted upon that occasion. But eleven years after, at the battle of Plataea, when the immediate danger to the Athenian people was much less pressing, and when a considerable part of their force was serving aboard the fleet, the Athenian troops in the confederate army were eight thou-

sand heavy foot, attended by an equal number of light-armed slaves (2). Indeed at the time of the battle of Marathon, the accession of strength to the Athenian forces from the colonists lately returned from Euboea, would, according to Herodotus, be of scarcely less than four thousand men. The same author informs us that the inhabitants of the little island of Naxos, after the expulsion of a powerful party, formed no less than eight thousand regular heavy-armed foot (3). Upon the whole we cannot suppose the regular Grecian forces at Marathon much fewer than twenty thousand, and the armed slaves would be about an equal number.

(1) l. i. c. 34.

(2) Herodot. l. ix. c. 23, 29.

(3) Herodot. l. v. c. 30.

spicuous,

spicuous, would of course have the lead. Of the nine colleagues of Miltiades five gave up their days of command to him; and by their means he had the majority of votes among the ten. Thus the extreme inconveniencies to which the Athenian system lay open were in a great degree obviated; and the unity indispensable to the advantageous conduct of military business was established. Miltiades to his other advantages joined that of having served with the Persians. He knew therefore the composition of their armies, the temper of their troops, and the ordinary system of their generals. The Greeks, whose dependence was on their heavy-armed foot formed in the deep order of the phalanx, usually began an engagement with a few discharges of missile weapons, and then presently came to close fight with their long spears. The Persians made more use of the bow, and less of the spear; which with them was shorter than the Grecian spear, and they depended much upon their cavalry, of which the Greeks (excepting the Thessalians) from the nature of their country could have little. The defensive armour also of the Persian infantry was inferior to the Grecian. Herodotus has marked the difference in a speech of Aristagoras the Milesian to the Lacedæmonian assembly: ‘The Persians go to battle,’ he says, ‘carrying bows and short spears, and wearing stockings and turbans.’ The Greeks carried long spears and swords, and wore greaves and helmets\*.

The Persian generals, guided by Hippias, had chosen their place of debarkation on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. Here

CHAP.VIII.  
SECT. IV.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 110.  
Plu arch.  
Aristid.

Herodot. l. v.  
c. 49.

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 102. 107.  
Thucyd. l. vi.  
c. 58.

\* Æschylus, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Plataea, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of the Persians to this difference of weapons. The chorus speaking of Xerxes says:

Ἐπ’ αἶψ’ ἀνελύτοισι ἀν-

δράσι τοξόδοκον Ἀρχ. P. 129. ed. H. Steph.

Afterward the characteristic weapons are put for the nations who bore them:

Πότερ’ οὐ τόξον ἔσται τὸ νικῶν,

\*Ὡ δρυκεράϊον

λόγκης ἰσχύς κεκράτηται; P. 131.

and, still farther, Atossa asking concerning the Athenians,

Πότερ’ ἀνὰ τοξοειδέος ἀρχῆς διὰ χειρὸς ὁ αὐτοῖς  
πείσεται;

the chorus answers:

Ὅδ’ αὖτως· ἔγχρη γὰρ αὖτις, καὶ φερόσπιδος σαγὰν.

P. 137.

## CHAP. VIII.

## SECT. IV.

Pausan. l. i.

c. 32.

Wheler's

Journey into

Greece, b. vi.

Chandler's

Travels in

Greece, c. 34,

and foll.

on landing they were at once in a plain in which cavalry might act; and the way to Athens, between the mountains Pentelicus and Briellessus, was less difficult than any other across the heights which at some distance surround that city. The intire command which they possessed of the sea, made it necessary for Miltiades to wait for intelligence where they would make their descent. They had thus debarked their whole force without obstruction, and were already in possession of the plain, when the Athenian army appeared upon the hills above. But this plain was narrow: pressed between the sea eastward, and the hills westward, and closed at each extremity, on the north by a marsh, on the south by the hills verging round and meeting the sea. Miltiades, on view of the ground and of the enemy, determined to attack. The first object in engaging Asiatic armies was to resist or to render useless their numerous and excellent cavalry: the next to prevent them from profiting by their superior skill in the use of missile weapons. The former might have been obtained by waiting among the hills: but there the heavy-armed Greeks would have been helpless against the Persian archers; whose fleet, whose numbers, and whose weapons would enable them to attack on any side, or on all sides, or, avoiding them intirely, to proceed to Athens. It was in a plain only that they could be forced to that mode of engagement in which the Greeks had greater practice, and for which their arms were superiorly adapted; and the narrow plain of Marathon was peculiarly favorable. Confined however as the ground was, the Athenian numbers were still insufficient to form a line equal to that of the enemy, and at the same time in all points competently strong. Deciding therefore instantly his choice of difficulties, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his center. Daring valor indeed, guided by a discernment capable of profiting from every momentary opportunity, could alone balance the many disadvantages of his circumstances. Finding then his troops animated as he wished, he issued a sudden order to lay aside missile weapons, to advance running down the hill, and engage at once in close fight. The order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity. The Persians, more

-ustomed

Herodot. l. vi.  
c. 111.

c. 112.

accustomed to give than to receive the attack, beheld, at first, with a disposition to ridicule, this, as it appeared, mad onset. The effect of the shock however proved the wisdom with which it had been concerted. The Asiatic horse, formidable in champaign countries by their rapid evolutions, but in this confined plain incumbered with their own numerous infantry, were at a loss how to act \*. Of the infantry that of proper Persia almost alone had reputation for close fight. The rest, accustomed chiefly to the use of missile weapons, was, by the rapidity of the Athenian charge, not less disconcerted than the horse. The contest was however long. The Persian infantry, successors of those troops who, under the great Cyrus, had conquered Asia, being posted in the center of their army, stood the vehemence of the onset, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and pursued far into the country. The Athenians, after great efforts, put both the Persian wings to flight; and had the prudence not to follow. Joining then their divided forces, they met the conquering center of the Persian army returning weary from pursuit; defeated it, followed to the shore, and amid the confusion of embarkation made a terrible slaughter. They took seven galleys. The Persians lost in all six thousand four hundred men. Of the Athenians only one hundred and ninety-two fell; but among them were the polemarch Callimachus, Stephaneus one of the ten generals, Cynægeirus, brother of the poet Æschylus, and other men of rank who had been earnest to set an example of valor on this trying occasion. The highest praise of valor however was very equally earned by the whole army, whose just eulogy will perhaps best be estimated from an observation of the original historian: ‘The Athenians who fought at Marathon,’ says Herodotus, ‘were the first among the Greeks known to have used running for the purpose of coming at once to close fight; and they were the first

c. 112.

c. 113.

c. 117.

c. 114.

c. 112.

\* No account is given by Herodotus of anything done by the Persian horse, tho he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian

cavalry previous to the battle of Plataea, together with every description of the field of battle of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction or inefficacy there.

CHAP. VIII. ' who withstood (in the field) even the sight of the Median dress,  
 SECT. IV. ' and of the men who wear it; for hitherto the very name of Medes  
 ~~~~~ ' and Persians had been a terror to the Greeks \*.'

Such is the account given of this celebrated day by that historian who lived near enough to the time to have conversed with eye-witnesses †. It is modest throughout, and bears general marks both of authentic information and of honest veracity. The small proportion of the Athenian slain perhaps appears least consistent with the other circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly by those in our own history of Agincourt and Poitiers. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armour, slaughter seldom could be great but among broken troops, or in pursuit. We are however told that a part of the Athenian army was broken. If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak center was intended; purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuit. The deep order in which the ancients fought would perhaps make such a stratagem not too hazardous for daring prudence, under urgent necessity of risking much. Writers who have followed Herodotus in describing this memorable day have abounded with evident fiction, as

* Those honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all more or less confirmed by the elder writers of highest authority. Thus Plato: *ἂν δὲ γινώσκαι δεδουλωμέναις ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἥσαν· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχημα γίνεσθαι καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή.* Menexen. p. 240. l. 2.

† There are two expressions in his sixth book (1) which have been understood by some to import that he had himself conversed with Epizelus, son of Cuphagoras, who had been

deprived of his eyesight, according to his own account, in a very extraordinary manner, during the action at Marathon: but the critics seem to have determined that those expressions mean no more than that Herodotus had heard the account of Epizelus reported by others (2). But according to the chronologers Herodotus was born about six years after the battle of Marathon. It is therefore not at all impossible but he might have conversed with persons present at the action.

(1) c. 117.

(2) See note 14. p. 493. of Wesseling's edition.

well as with fulsome panegyric of the Athenians, and absurd obloquy on their enemy *.

CHAP. VIII.

SECT. IV.

Still, however, after the defeat at Marathon, the Persian armament was very formidable; nor was Athens, immediately by its glorious victory, delivered from the danger of that subversion with which it had been threatened. The Persian commander, doubling Cape Sunium, coasted the southern shore of Attica, not without hopes of carrying the city by a sudden assault. But the Athenians had a general equal to his arduous office. Aware of what might be the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march with a large part of his forces; and when the Persians arrived off the port Phalerus, they saw an Athenian army incamped on the hill of Cynosarges which overlooks it. They cast anchor; but, without attempting any thing, weighed again and steered for Asia. They carried with them their Eretrian prisoners, who were conducted to the great king at Susa. The humane Darius settled them on an estate, his private property, at Ardericca in the province of Cissia, about twenty-four miles from his capital.

c. 115, 116.

c. 119.

SECTION V.

Growing Ambition of Athens. Effects of Party-spirit at Athens. Extraordinary Honors to the Memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Impeachment and Death of Miltiades.

IT is particularly in the nature of democratical government for ambition to grow with success. No sooner were the Athenians delivered by the victory of Marathon from impending destruction, than they began to meditate conquest. Almost all the islands of the Ægean were obnoxious for their ready submission to the Persian summons; and some even for their exertions in the Persian cause.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 132, & seq.
Corn. Nep.
v. Miltiad.

* The extravagance of Justin's tale may lessen our regret for the loss of the great work which he has epitomized. Had Herodotus, among all his muses, given one romance so absurd as Justin's account of this battle, he

might have deserved some portion of the abuse with which calumny has singularly loaded him. Among later authors the concise narrative of Cornelius Nepos is by far most deserving attention.

Miltiades

CHAP. VIII.

SECT. V.



Miltiades was sent with seventy ships to exact fines from them for their delinquency; and as far as might be, using the newly-acquired naval power in imitation of the practice of Lacedæmon on the continent, to reduce them under the authority, or at least the influence of the Athenian government. Paros resisted. Siege was laid to its principal town. After twenty-six days no impression was made. Miltiades then, himself dangerously wounded, led back his armament to Athens, without having effected anything, according to Herodotus, but the ravage of that one island.

Athens has been accused of black ingratitude and gross injustice for the treatment of this great man which immediately followed. It has been endeavoured on the other hand, by the zealous partizans of democratic rule, to justify his doom on those severe principles of patriotism which deny all rights to individuals where but a suspicion of public interest interferes. But whoever will take the pains to connect the desultory but honest narration of Herodotus may find, and everything remaining from Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes any way relative to the subject will confirm it, that neither general ingratitude nor general patriotism swayed the Athenian people upon this occasion: party-spirit was still the great mover of their politics.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 123.
Thucyd. l. i.
c. 20. & l. vi.
c. 53 & 59.

It has been said by Herodotus, and repeated by Thucydides, that not Harmodius and Aristogeiton, as the vulgar in their time believed, but the Alcæonid faction delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Peisistratids. But a party, which had so long, so wisely, so virtuously, and so beneficially directed the affairs of the commonwealth as that of the Peisistratids, would be too firmly and extensively rooted to be at once annihilated by the expulsion of its chiefs. It seems therefore to have been the policy of the Alcæonid party to hold out the names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to public esteem; while nothing was left untried to brand the memory of the Peisistratid administration. Hence the very extraordinary honors paid to the memory of the assassins of Hipparchus. Hence the mere revenge of a private quarrel elevated to the dignity of tyrannicide and assertion

of

of public liberty. The celebration of the deed by songs was made a regular part of the ceremony of the great festival of Panathenæa. The custom was introduced even at private entertainments always to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogeiton *. Statues of the patriots, made by the greatest artists at the public expence and of the most costly materials, were erected in different places of greatest resort in the city †. It was forbidden by a particular law to give their names to slaves. Obsequies were periodically performed to their memory, under the direction of the polemarch archon. Particular honors, privileges, and emoluments were decreed to their families. And to conclude all, in terror to future invaders of public liberty, but principally in terror to the living enemies of the Alcmaeonid party, promises were held out by public authority, that future sufferers in the cause of freedom (for by that sacred name the Alcmaeonids described the supporters of their own power) should be equally honored with Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Attention to these circumstances, as effects of party, is necessary for understanding, in any degree, the domestic politics of the Athenian commonwealth.

The glory of Miltiades, in diminishing the consequence, excited the envy of the Alcmaeonids. Herodotus mentions a report that they had gone so far as to hold a traiterous correspondence with the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and communicated intelligence to them by signals. He professes indeed that he thought this incredible; and the circulation of such a report may perhaps best be considered as one among innumerable proofs how busy, and how virulent in calumny faction was at Athens ‡. On the other hand the ill will of the Alcmaeonids to Miltiades did not remain dubious. The security of the commonwealth, which that great man's abilities had pro-

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 121.

* This song, the most ancient composition of its kind preserved in prophane history, may be seen, with an elegant Latin translation, in Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry.

† The laborious Meurius, in his *Peisistratus*, has collected accounts of many of these statues from various ancient authors.

‡ Narratam sibi, vel ab aliis scripto man-

datam Atheniensium quorundam, suspicionem tot argumentis repellit Herodotus, ut in his etiam vexandis modum excessisse videatur Plutarchus de Herod. Malign. Valcken. not. ap. Wessel. Herodot. Plutarch has indeed throughout that treatise exceeded all measure of reason, and little regarded argument.

CHAP. VIII.

SECT. V.

Herodot. l. vi.
c. 131 & 136.
Corn. Nep.
v. Miltiad.

cured, had made those abilities less immediately necessary; and his failure at Paros afforded means of ruining him with a fickle multitude possessed of despotic authority. Xanthippus, one of the principal men of Athens, who had married a daughter of Megacles, the great opponent of Peisistratus and chief of the house of Alcmaeon, conducted a capital accusation against him. Miltiades was unable to appear in the general assembly: his cause was pleaded by his friends. He was acquitted of capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty talents; about nine thousand four hundred pounds sterling. This he was unable immediately to discharge. His wound meanwhile brought on a mortification; and Miltiades died in prison.

CHAPTER IX.

The History of GREECE from the Accession of XERXES to the Throne of PERSIA till the Conclusion of the first Campaign of that Monarch's Expedition against GREECE.

SECTION I.

Accession of Xerxes to the Throne of Persia. Immense Preparations by the Court of Persia for Conquest in Europe. Assembly of the Army at Sardis, and of the Fleet in the Hellespont. March of the Army. Muster of the Army. Arrival of the Army and Fleet at Therme in Macedonia.

CHAP. IX.

SECT. I.

Æschyl. Pers.
Plato. loc. cit.
Herodot. l. viii.
c. 1, & seq.

HERODOTUS relates some anecdotes attributing to Darius an acrimonious resentment against Athens very repugnant to his general character as it stands marked by authors of highest credit, and even by what that historian himself has reported, evidently on better authority. Asia, he adds, was agitated for three years by preparations for

a second expedition into Greece, to revenge the disgrace of Marathon. Prudence perhaps, not less than honor, would require the attempt; but three years could not be necessary to the resources of the Persian empire for such a purpose; and more important objects in the mean time called the attention of its rulers. Egypt revolted; and a dangerous dispute about the right of succession to the throne arose between the sons of Darius. That monarch had the satisfaction to see the succession amicably settled in favor of Xerxes, his son by Atossa daughter of Cyrus, to the prejudice of elder sons by a former marriage: but he died soon after, leaving Egypt to be recovered and Greece to be punished by his successor. The former object was accomplished in the second year of the reign of Xerxes: the other seems to have been for some time neglected.

Ol. lxxiii. 4.

B. C. 485.

Herodot. l. vii.

c. 7.

But the Persians had not yet forgotten the character, which their fathers had supported, of a warlike and conquering people. They were not accustomed to insults within their dominion like that of the burning of Sardis; and still less to defeats in the field like that of Marathon. We cannot suppose Herodotus often well informed of intrigues about the person of the great king: but we may believe what he puts as a remark into the mouth of Xerxes, 'that it had not been the custom of the Persians to be quiet.' Nor is it to be doubted but there would be men about that prince ready to encourage an idea natural enough to a youth inheriting such immense power from a race of conquerors, that it became him also to be a conqueror, that it became him still to enlarge the bounds of his vast empire, and to emulate the military fame of Darius, of Cambyfes, and even of the great Cyrus*. To punish Athens and to conquer Greece were therefore small objects; nor does what Herodotus has

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 8. sect. 1.Herodot. l. vii.
c. 8. f. 3.

* This is the motive also alledged by Æschylus, in the person of Atossa, for the expedition of Xerxes. Speaking to the shade of Darius she says:

Ταῦτα τοὺς κακοὺς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκειται
Θούριος Ξέρξης· λίγουσιν δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μάγαν τέκνεις

Πλοῦτον ἐν τῷ σὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀναδρόμιας ὑπο
"Ενδον ἀνιμαζέειν, πατριῶν δ' ὄλεον δευτέρᾳ ἀνέξανεν.
Ταῖς δ' ἰξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνείδη πολλὰ κλέων κακῶν,
Τὴν δ' ἰσοῦλεισιν κίλειθον καὶ στρατεύμ' ἱφ' Ἑλλάδα.
p. 161. edit. H. Steph.

CHAP. IX.
SECT. I.Herodot. l. vii.
c. 20.
Diod. Sic. l. xi.
c. 1. & seq.

suggested appear improbable, that the ardent ambition of the youthful monarch and some among his counsellors might look as far as the Western Ocean, howsoever little its shores or the intermediate nations were known to them, for the term of their career of glory. Four years it is said were employed in preparations. An army was collected greater than the world ever saw, either before or since. The commanders on the western frontier of the empire had had opportunity of observing that the most formidable land-force could not secure maritime provinces from insults by sea; and still more that the conquest of maritime states would be in vain attempted without naval power. Every seaport therefore in the whole winding length of coast from Macedonia to the Lybian Syrtes was ordered to prepare ships and to impress mariners. A prodigious work was undertaken for the purpose of making the navigation secure from the Asiatic along the European coast, and to prevent all risk of future disasters like that of the fleet under Mardonius. It was no less than to form a canal, navigable for the largest galleys, across the isthmus which joins Athos to the continent of Thrace. A fleet was assembled at Eleus, a port of that peninsula, under the command of Bubares, son of Megabazus; and the crews were employed on the work. Herodotus supposes mere ostentation to have been the motive to this undertaking; because, he says, less labor would have carried the fleet over land from one sea to the other. It seems however no rash conjecture that deep policy may have prompted it. To cross the *Ægean*, even now, with all the modern improvements in navigation, is singularly dangerous. To double the cape of Athos is still more formidable. If therefore the object was to add the countries west of the *Ægean* sea to the Persian dominion, it was of no small consequence to lessen the danger and the delays of the passage for a fleet *. At

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 21.
Diod. Sic. l. xi.
c. 2.

* Scarcely any circumstance of the expedition of Xerxes is more strongly supported by historical testimony than the making of the canal of Athos. The informed and exact Thucydides, who had property in Thrace, and

lived part of his time upon that property, speaks of the canal of Athos made by the king of Persia with perfect confidence (1). Ulocrates mentions it also as an undoubted circumstance; still in his time the subject of wonder and of

(1) Thucyd. l. iv. c. 109.

the same time, to facilitate the communication by land, a bridge was laid over the river Strymon. Magazines meanwhile were formed all along the coast as far as Macedonia; chiefly in the towns of the Grecian colonies now subject to Persia.

At length, the levies being completed, the forces from all the eastern and southern provinces were assembled at Critali in Cappadocia. Hither the monarch himself came to take the command. He marched immediately to Sardis; where the land force from the west of Asia Minor joined him. Hence heralds were sent into Greece, to all the cities except Athens and Lacedæmon; where, in the reign of Darius, the Persian heralds had, in violation of the law of nations even of that age, been cruelly put to death. Earth and water were demanded in token of subjection; and, according to the oriental custom, orders were given to prepare entertainment for the king against his arrival. Xerxes wintered at Sardis. Meanwhile a work scarcely inferior to the canal of Athos was prepared in the Hellespont. Two bridges of boats were extended from near Abydus on the Asiatic to near Sestos on the European shore. The width is seven furlongs. The bridges were contrived, one to resist the current, which is always strong from the Propontis, the other to withstand the winds, which are often violent from the Ægean sea, so that each protected the other.

Early in spring the army moved. For so vast a multitude one principal difficulty was so to direct the march that water might not fail. Several rivers of some name were found unequal to the supply;

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SECT. I.

Ol. lxxiv. 4.

B. C. 481.
Herodot. l. vii.
c. 26.

Herodot. l. vii.

c. 33.

Strabo, l. xiii.

P. 591.

Ol. lxxv. 1.

B. C. 480.

Herodot. l. vii.

c. 37 & seq.

common conversation. Diodorus relates the fact not less positively than Herodotus. The passage of Strabo which described Thrace is unfortunately lost; but the canal of Xerxes remains confidently mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place was moreover so surrounded by Grecian settlements that it seems impossible for such a report, if unfounded, to have held any credit. At the very time of the expedition of Xerxes there were no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, one even on the isthmus, described by Thucydi-

des as close to the canal, and many on the adjacent coasts (1). Yet Juvenal has chosen the story of this canal as an exemplification of the Grecian disposition to lie: and I have somewhere read of a French traveller in modern times who visited, or thought he visited the place, and could find no vestige of the work. The reader must chuse his belief between the Grecian historians and geographer, and the Roman satirist, supported as he may be by modern observation.

(1) Herodot. l. vii. c. 22. Thucyd. l. iv. c. 109. & Excerpt. ex Strab. l. vii.

and

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SECT. I.



and among them the celebrated stream of Scamander, in its course across the Trojan plain, was exhausted. Seven days and nights were employed unintermittingly, in passing the bridges of the Hellespont. The march was then continued through the Chersonese. The fleet, which had been assembled in the Hellespont, was at the same time ordered to proceed along the coast westward. The land and sea forces met again at Doriscus near the mouth of the Hebrus, where Darius, on his return from his Scythian expedition, had established a Persian garrison. Both the country and the coast here were favorable for the review of so immense an armament, and here accordingly the monarch reviewed his forces both of sea and land.

Here too, Herodotus tells us, the army was mustered. Subsequent ancient writers have taken upon them to differ from him concerning its strength; but we may best believe the simple honesty of the original historian, who, in describing the manner of the muster, sufficiently shows that even the Persian generals themselves knew not how to ascertain the numbers under their command. Indeed those who know how difficult it is, amid all the accuracy of division and the minuteness of detail in modern European armies, and comparatively handfuls of men, to acquire exact information of effective numbers, will little expect it among the almost countless bands of various languages and widely differing customs which composed the military multitude under Xerxes. Herodotus reckons in it no less than twenty-nine nations, from Scythia north to Ethiopia south, and from India east to Thrace and Lybia west. To acquire a foundation for guessing the total effective strength without an attempt to ascertain the detail, the method taken by the Persian generals, he says, was this: Ten thousand men, being counted, were formed in a circle as close as possible. A fence was then raised around them. They were dismissed, and all the army in turn passed into this inclosure, till the whole was thus counted by tens of thousands. According to this muster, such as it was, the historian says the infantry alone amounted to one million seven hundred thousand fighting men; but he expresses-

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 60.

ly declares, that no one ever undertook to give an account of the detail*. The cavalry he makes only eighty thousand, by no means an improbable number, and likely to have been better ascertained. Arabian camel-riders and African charioteers he computes at twenty thousand. Horses, mules, asses, oxen, and camels, for the baggage, were besides innumerable.

CHAP. IX.

SECT. I.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 87.

Of the fleet he gives a more particular account. The trireme galleys of war amounted to twelve hundred and seven; and his distribution, which may show the comparative naval strength of different nations at the time, makes the total appear scarcely beyond probability. Three hundred were furnished by the Phenicians with the Syrians of Palestine; two hundred by Egypt; one hundred and fifty by Cyprus; Cilicia sent one hundred; Pamphylia thirty; Lycia fifty; Caria seventy: thirty were provided by the Dorian Greeks of Asia, one hundred by the Ionians, sixty by the Æolians, seventeen by the islands, and by the Hellepontian towns one hundred. The average complement of men to each trireme galley he reckons at two hundred. The crews of the whole fleet would thus amount to two hundred and forty one thousand four hundred. But over and above the ordinary crew there were thirty Persians or Medes or Sacians in each galley. These would make an addition of thirty six thousand two hundred and ten men. The Phenician ships, he says, were the best sailers, and among those the Sidonian excelled. Beside these the transports, some for infantry, some particularly fitted for cavalry; storeships, some of vast burden, together with smaller vessels of various sorts and for various purposes attending the fleet, would not be easily numbered. He reckons them by a gross calculation at three thousand; and their average crews at eighty men: the amount of their crews would thus be two hundred and forty thousand; and the number of men in the fleet all together five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 89.

* "Ὅσον μὲν ἐν ἑκατοσι παρῶν ἰσχυρὸς ἀριθμὸς, οὐκ ἔχον ἵσταναι τὸ ἀπείρητον· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων. l. vii. c. 60.

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SECT. I.

Of this extraordinary expedition naturally many anecdotes would be remembered and propagated; many true, many false, mistaken, or exaggerated. Among those related by Herodotus some appear perfectly probable; some refer to circumstances of which he could hardly have had authentic information, and some are utterly inconsistent with the characters to whom they refer. Among the latter I should reckon the ridiculous punishment of the Hellespont by stripes and chains, together with executions equally impolitic as inhuman, and repugnant to what we learn on best authority of the manners of the Persians. But the account which that historian gives of the march of the army, and of the attending motions of the fleet, is clear and consistent beyond what might be expected. The march was continued from Doriscus in three columns. One, under Mardonius and Masistes, kept along the coast, the fleet nearly accompanying it. Another, under Tritantæchmes and Gergis, proceeded far within land. Xerxes himself led the third between the other two, Smerdomenes and Megabyzus commanding under him. They passed the Samothracian towns, the most westerly of which was Mesambria on the river Lisus, on whose opposite bank was Stryma a town belonging to the islanders of Thasus. This river did not suffice for the consumption of the army. Maronæa, Dicæa, Abdera, Grecian colonies, lay next on the road. Everywhere the commands to prepare for the reception of the monarch and his army had been zealously executed. Beside vast magazines of corn, meat, and forage for the troops, many of the cities, emulous to court favor, or anxious to avert wrath, had prepared, with a sumptuousness proportioned to their hopes and fears rather than to their revenues, for the reception of the king and his court. Wherever the halt of the royal train had been announced, a superb pavilion was erected, adorned with the most costly furniture. Many cities provided even vessels of gold and silver for the table. The rapacious attendants of the Persian court spared nothing. In the morning when the army marched all was carried off. This eastern stile of robbery gave occasion for a saying of Megacreon,

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 35 & 39.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 121.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 108 & seq.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 118 & seq.

creon, a citizen of Abdera, which Herodotus has recorded as having become popular, 'That the Abderites ought to go with their wives in procession to their temples, and pray to the gods always equally to avert half the evils that threatened: for upon the present occasion their most grateful thanks were due for the favor shown in disposing Xerxes to eat but once a day; since, if the monarch had chosen to dine on the morrow as he had supped over night, there would have been an end of Abdera.'

Not contented with their forces, already innumerable, the Persians continued everywhere on their march to press men. The youth, equally Grecian and Thracian, were compelled to join either the army or the navy. Yet, according to Herodotus, the Thracians preserved such veneration for the soil which this enormous armament had trodden, that to his time they avoided breaking or sowing it. He does not account for this particularity: but perhaps the Persians favored the Thracians against the Greeks; all whose establishments on that coast were incroachments upon Thracian ground. From Abdera the division under Xerxes proceeded to Eion (a Grecian town on the river Strymon, with a Persian garrison established there by Darius) and thence by Argilus and Stageirus to Acanthus, all Grecian settlements. In the neighbourhood of Acanthus the three divisions met; and there Artachæas, a Persian of high rank, related to the royal family, and in great favor with Xerxes, died. The few words in which Herodotus describes his funeral, contribute to show the extensiveness, and to connect from remotest antiquity the history of the ceremony which gave occasion to those artificial mounts, numerous in our own country as in many other parts of the world. The whole army, he says, heaped the mount which formed the sepulchral monument of Artachæas *. After this solemn ceremony the march was

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 108 & 110.
Diodor. Sic.
l. xi. c. 3.

* Ἐπεμπεύχοντες δὲ πάντα τὰ στρατῶν. l. vii. c. 117.
Homer gives a corresponding description of the sepulchral barrow raised by the Grecian army under Agamemnon in honor of the heroes who fell before Troy:

Ἄνφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἵππεσσι μέγαν νυλὸν ἀνύμονα τύμβον
Χυάμιν, ἥντιν' ἱερὸς πρῶτος αἰχμητῶν,
Ἄκτῃ ἐπὶ πρυμνύσῃ ἐπὶ πλάτῃ Ἑλλασπόντῳ.
Ὡς κεν Πηλεΐδης ἐκ πολέφῃ ἀνδράσιν ἔη
Τοῖς δὲ νῦν γέγρασι, καὶ δὲ μετόπισθεν ἔσσεται.
Odys. l. xxiv. v. 84.

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continued westward, with the country called Chalcidice, full of Grecian settlements, on the left. The fleet, which had met the army at Acanthus, proceeded thence through the canal of Athos, and round the peninsulas of Sithonia and Pallene into the bay of Therme; pressing ships and seamen at all the Grecian towns on the coast. The army, arriving soon after, occupied with its incampment the whole extent of the Macedonian shore, from Therme and the borders of Mygdonia to the river Haliacmon near the borders of Thessaly.

SECTION II.

State of Greece at the time of the Invasion under Xerxes. Responses of the Delphian Oracle concerning the Invasion. Measures for forming a confederacy of Grecian Commonwealths. Disunion among the Greeks. Assembly of Deputies from the confederated Commonwealths at Corinth. The Defence of Thessaly given up by the Confederates. Measures for defending the Pass of Thermopylæ.

THE Greeks had long had intelligence of the immense preparations making in Asia; professedly for the punishment of Athens, but evidently enough with more extensive views of conquest. Yet still, as on the former invasion, no measures were concerted in common for the general defence of the country. On the contrary, many of the small republics readily and even zealously made the demanded acknowledgement of subjection to the great king by the delivery of earth and water*. Nor will this appear strange to those who read the honest historian of the age, and consider the real state of things in the country, however it may militate with later declamation on Gre-

Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround
The destin'd tomb, and cast a mighty mound.
High on the shore the growing hill we raise,
That wide th' extended Hellespont surveys:
Where all, from age to age, who pass the coast,
May point Achilles' tomb.

Pope's *Odyss.* b. xxiv. v. 104.

The concluding words of the line, 'and hail the mighty gholt,' are an addition of the translator not warranted by Homer in this or any other passage of his works.

* Οὐτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀτάπησθαι τῶν πολέμων, Μυθίζεσθαι δὲ πρυθόμενος.

Herodot. l. vii. c. 138.

cian

cian patriotism and love of liberty *. For it was surely no unreasonable opinion held by many that the might of Persia was irresistible †. All the Asian Greeks had formerly in vain attempted to defend themselves against the very inferior potentate of Lydia: and, when reduced, they scarcely found themselves losers, but on the contrary seem to have been in many points gainers by their subjection. But now that immense power, which had not only swallowed up the Lydian monarchy with all its appendages, but was already far advanced into Europe, and which, to a land-force that could not be numbered, added by far the greatest naval strength, collected from various subject states, that had ever been seen in the world, how was it to be resisted by a few little republics, whose territories together were comparatively but a spot, and which were nevertheless incapable of any firm political union among one another? Quiet men would naturally think it wisely done to merit favor by early submission; and the ambitious might hope that their field would even be extended through the establishment of the Persian dominion in Greece. Some would perhaps not unreasonably prefer subjection under the Persian empire before submission to the domineering spirit of the Spartan oligarchy ‡; while the more oppressive tyranny of the Athenian democracy had yet little shewn itself. Some might even wish for a superintending authority to repress those often horrid violences of domestic faction, by which every Grecian city was almost unceasingly torn. Those therefore who had given the demanded earth and water rested satisfied in the confidence that they should suffer nothing: those who had refused it were in very great alarm §. ‘ And here, says Hero-

* That declamation had its origin in Greece when Grecian liberty was in decay, but has been mostly produced under the pressure of the imperial despotism of Rome; when men, not daring to speak directly of the government under which they lived, enjoyed a weak revenge in reviling it obliquely, or in obliquely exciting opposition to it, through immoderate eulogy of times past. Thus we have seen, in modern Europe, people denied the liberty of speaking concerning the government of their

own country, with eager zeal take an interest in English and American politics.

† Even Isocrates admits this as a sufficient apology for the smaller Grecian states: *Ἡγουτο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ταπεινῶς τῶν πόλεων προέκειν ἐξ ἀναγκῆς τρέψουσι καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν*. *Panegy.* p. 226, t. i. ed Auger.

‡ See the *Panathenaic* of Isocrates.

§ *Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκω, δότες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἶχον δάρεος ὡς ἐνδὴν πισθόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ οὐ δότες ἐν δέσματι μεγάλα κατέσχον*. *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 138.

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dotus, 'I am driven of necessity to profess an opinion, invidious I know
 ' to most men, which yet, as I think it the truth, I shall not with-
 ' hold. If the Athenians, in dread of the approaching danger, had
 ' either fled their country, or surrendered themselves, not even an at-
 ' tempt could have been made to oppose the enemy by sea. What
 ' then would have followed may be readily conceived. The fortified
 ' lines proposed by the Peloponnesians across the Corinthian isthmus
 ' would have been nugatory. For the Persian having it in his power
 ' to make his attack where he pleased by sea, would have subdued the
 ' several states one by one; and the Lacedæmonians at last, reduced to
 ' their single strength, would have had no choice left but of dying
 ' gloriously, or of submitting to a power which they could no longer
 ' withstand; so that all Greece must inevitably have fallen under the
 ' Persian yoke. Whoever therefore shall say that the Athenians pre-
 ' served Greece, will not err from the truth: for, to whichever
 ' party they joined themselves, that must preponderate. Forming
 ' their determination then by the desire that Greece should survive
 ' free, it was they who excited to energy all that remained of Gre-
 ' cian people undecided for the Persian cause; and they, next under
 ' the gods, repelled the invasion.'

This testimony in favor of Athens appears upon the whole not less true than honorable. But as the business of history is neither panegyric nor satire, but to form a just estimate of the conduct and characters of men, it will be proper, as we have adverted to the circumstances which might apologize for those Greeks who yielded on the first summons, to advert also to the circumstances which led the Athenians to such determined and animated opposition to the Persian power. Nor is the investigation difficult. The burning of Sardis first, then their treatment of the Persian heralds, and finally their victory at Marathon, had made the Athenians so peculiarly obnoxious that, in submitting, they could little hope for favorable terms. Tho moreover Hippias was now dead, yet the Peisistratid party still existed; and the court of the satrap of Sardis was the com-

mon

mon resort of Grecian refugees; of whom some, richer or more aspiring, or of rank to introduce them to consideration, carried their intrigues as far as the monarch's court at Susa. Among these Herodotus names Demaratus the banished king of Sparta, some Thessalian princes, and some of the Peisistratids. All would expect to profit from the success of the Persian arms in Greece; to which indeed many looked as the only circumstance that could ever restore them to their country; while on the contrary those who now led the affairs of the Athenian commonwealth must, on that very account, expect from it the more inevitable and deeper ruin. But the glorious day of Marathon would naturally give new energy to every Athenian mind. Extraordinary success easily excites among a people the presumption that nothing is too arduous for them. Now also, as on the invasion under Datis, there arose among the Athenians a leader born for the occasion. Themistocles was a man of obscure birth, but whom a general vehemence of temper, with a singular enthusiasm for glory, added to extraordinary talents, could not fail in a democracy of raising to the highest political eminence. We have observed how the war with the little island of Ægina had contributed to the former spirited opposition of Athens to Persia. It is the remark of Herodotus that, upon the present occasion also, Greece owed its preservation to that war; for it was that war which first obliged the Athenians to raise a marine. At Laureium, in Attica, was a very productive silver-mine, public property. But it had been determined, in the true spirit of democracy, that as the treasury was rich, the revenue from the mine, instead of being reserved for public service, should be divided among all the Athenian people for their private use. That enthusiastic ardor for any object in view which, when genius feels, it can communicate, Themistocles communicated among the Athenian youth. While their minds were generally exasperated against the Æginetans, he procured a decree, which the graver and more experienced leading men had not dared even to propose, that no dividend should be made of the income from the mines till two hundred

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SECT. II.

Herodot.
l. vii. c. 3 & 6.

Plutarch. v.
Themist.
Herodot.
l. vii. c. 143.

Herodot.
l. vii. c. 144.
Plutarch. v.
Themist.
Theoclyd. l. i.
c. 14.

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many trireme galleys were built with it. The threatened invasion from the east had stopped the Æginetan war, and the galleys were now complete.

The passage also of Herodotus concerning the consultation of the Delphian oracle in this tremendous crisis, tends so much to mark the temper and character of the times that it may be worth giving, as nearly as our language will admit, in his own words: ‘Neither,’ says that historian, continuing his panegyric of Athens, ‘did the alarming oracles from Delphi, however inspiring terror, persuade the Athenians to desert the cause of Greece. For persons deputed by public authority to consult the god *, having performed the prescribed ceremonies, entered the temple; and, as they sat by the shrine, the Pythoness, whose name was Aristonice, enounced these words: “Wretches, why sit ye there? Leave your houses and the lofty ramparts of your city, and fly to the farthest parts of the earth. For not the head shall remain firm, nor the body, nor the extreme feet; not therefore the hands, nor shall aught of the middle remain, but all shall pass unregarded. For fire and keen Mars, urging the Syrian chariot, shall destroy. Nor yours alone, but many other strong towers shall he overthrow. Many temples of the immortal gods shall he give to the consuming fire. Even now they stand dropping sweat, and shaking with terror. Black blood flows over their highest roofs, foreseeing the necessities of wretchedness. Depart therefore from the sanctuary, and diffuse the mind in evils.” The Athenian deputies were thrown into the deepest consternation. Consulting with Timon son of Androbulus, one of the principal Delphian citizens, he advised them to take the symbols of suppliants, and go again to the oracle. They did so, and addressed the shrine thus: “O sovereign power, prophecy to us more propitiously for our country, regarding these suppliant tokens which we bear; or we will not depart from the sanctuary, but re-

Herodot.
l. vii. c. 139,
& seq.

* *Θεοπέπται* is their Grecian title, for which we have neither word nor scarcely a proper phrase in English.

“main here even until we die.” The prophets answered: “Minerva is unable to appease Olympian Jupiter, tho in- treating with many words and deep wisdom. Again therefore I speak in adamantine terms. All else within Cecropian bounds and the recesses of divine Cithæron shall fall. The wooden wall alone great Jupiter grants to Minerva to remain inexpugnable, a refuge to you and your children. Wait not therefore the approach of horse or foot, an immense army, coming from the continent; but retreat, turning the back, even tho they be close upon you. O divine Salamis! thou shalt lose the sons of women, whether Ceres be scattered or gathered!” *

Writing down this answer, which appeared milder than the former, the deputies returned to Athens. Various opinions were held among the Athenian elders about the meaning of words which interested them so deeply. Some thought they directed the defence of the citadel, which having been anciently surrounded by a palisade, might be intended by the term wooden wall. Others insisted that the wooden wall could mean nothing but their fleet, upon which alone therefore the oracle encouraged them to depend: yet this construction seemed overthrown by the concluding sentence, which the diviners deemed to portend, that if the fleet ventured an engagement it would be defeated off Salamis. They therefore advised by no means to risk any kind or degree of engagement, but to make use of the fleet for quitting, with their families and effects, a country which they could not defend, and to seek a settlement elsewhere.

It was not likely that the prudent managers of the Delphian oracle would prophecy any thing very favorable to Athens, so peculiarly

* These two oracles, tho in verse in the original, fall remarkably into English almost word for word; even the ambiguous expressions almost exactly corresponding in the two languages. It is not every oracle reported by Greek authors that can be thus literally ren-

dered, or even rendered at all in another language, if indeed they bear any certain sense in the original. It has therefore been a prudent practice of translators to give their representations of them in verse.

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devoted to Persian vengeance, when the innumerable forces of that mighty empire were already assembled at Sardis, while the little country of Greece was so unprepared and so disunited. Yet the consultation was probably necessary in compliance with popular prejudice; and it depended then upon genius to interpret the response advantageously, after having perhaps suggested what might bear an advantageous interpretation. Themistocles was not at a loss upon this occasion. 'There was one emphatical word,' he said, 'which clearly proved the interpretation of the diviners to be wrong. For if the last sentence had been meant unfavorably to the Athenians, the oracle would scarcely have used the expression, "O divine Salamis," but rather, "O wretched Salamis." Defeat at sea was therefore portended not to them but to their enemies: the wooden wall unquestionably meant their fleet; and a naval engagement must save their country.' The Athenian multitude was predisposed to the character and to the sentiments of Themistocles. It was determined, in pursuance of his opinion, to put the whole strength of the commonwealth to the navy, to increase the number of ships as fast as possible, and, together with such other Greeks as could be persuaded to join them, to meet the enemy at sea.

Then at last measures were taken for forming a league among those Grecian states who, according to the historian's expression, were inclined to the better cause*. It was presently agreed that all enmities among themselves should cease: for many yet existed, and principally that between Athens and Ægina. Information came that Xerxes was arrived at Sardis. Beside that his court was a common resort for refugee Greeks, many of his Ionian and Æolian subjects would be constantly about it, tho' probably very few of them ever near his person. Means were however thus open for any Greeks to pass with little suspicion, and easily to acquire information concerning all public transactions of the Persian empire. To ascertain report, and to

* ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΑ ΕΜΕΙΝΑ ΦΙΛΙΩΤΕΡΩΝ. Herodot. l. vii. c. 145.

pry if possible more deeply into things, some confidential persons were sent to Sardis. They were apprehended as spies, and condemned to death: but the circumstances being reported to Xerxes, that prince, disapproving the rigid caution of his officers, directed that the spies should be carried round the whole army, and, after seeing everything, dismissed with passports to go where they pleased. Some ships about the same time, carrying corn from the Euxine for Ægina and Peloponnesus, were stopped by the Persian officers in the Hellespont. Xerxes directed that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage; 'For,' said he, 'we are going to the same country, and the corn may be useful to us.' The appearance of magnanimity in this conduct is lessened by the immensity of the Persian armament, seemingly far overproportioned to its object; yet upon the whole the anecdotes are not unworthy of the son of Darius, and grandson of Cyrus. Analogous transactions may have happened among other people in other ages: a story similar to the former is related in Roman history. But in justice to Xerxes it ought not to be forgotten that he stands first on record for this treatment, generous at least, if we refuse to call it magnanimous, of enemies whose lives were forfeited by the law of nations of all ages.

The principal Grecian cities whose resolutions remained yet doubtful, were those of Crete, with Argos, Corcyra, and Syracuse; all considerable for their naval force. Ministers were sent to all, urging them to an alliance against Persia. Argos had not, with the power, lost all the pride of its ancient preëminence among the Grecian states. It had not long since suffered in a war with Sparta; when Cleomenes, in one battle, and a massacre which followed it, had destroyed no less than six thousand Argian citizens. Weak under this calamity, irritated against Lacedæmon, and apprehending farther oppression from that ambitious state, which might command Peloponnesus should Argos by any misfortune be farther reduced, recourse was had to the Delphian oracle. The response, evidently composed by a friend to the Argians, appears, as far as it can be understood, to favor their

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ancient

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Herodot. l. vii.
c. 146, 147.
Polyæn. Strateg.
l. vii.
c. 15.
Plutarch.
Apophth.

Polyb. l. xv.
p. 695.
Liv. l. xxx.
c. 29.
Frontin. l. iv.
c. 7.

Herodot.
l. vii. c. 145.

l. vi. c. 76, &
seq.

l. vii. c. 148,
& Hierat.
Panathen.

Herodot.
l. vii. c. 148,
& seq.

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ancient pretension to superiority above all other Grecian states, and at the same time to direct them to enter into no league for common defence, but merely to provide for their own security. The ministers were nevertheless favorably received. Having, in the oracular response, an excuse, which Grecian religion could not dispute, for refusing, if they chose it, to engage in any league, the Argians endeavoured to profit from the pressing necessity of the occasion for procuring advantageous terms as the price of their assistance. They demanded first that the Lacedæmonians should bind themselves to peace with them for thirty years. Then they said that, tho command among the Grecian states justly belonged to Argos, yet they would be contented to share it equally with Sparta. The Lacedæmonian deputies gave an unsatisfactory answer, and the Argians concluded with declaring, ‘That the Spartan arrogance was intolerable; and they would rather ‘be commanded by the barbarians than subject to Lacedæmon.’ The ministers were then ordered to leave the Argian territory before sunset, on pain of being treated as enemies. This, says Herodotus, is what the Argians themselves say about these matters. Other reports less favorable to them were current in Greece. But after an account of them the honest historian adds: ‘I do not undertake to vouch ‘for these stories, nor for anything relating to the business more ‘than as far as credit is due to what the Argians themselves say. ‘But this I know, that if all men were to bring their domestic disgraces together for the purpose of exchanging with their neighbours, ‘they would no sooner have inspected those of others than all would ‘most willingly take back their own. Thus neither upon this occasion was the conduct of the Argians the most shameful.’

The ministers of the confederates were not more successful in Crete. Herodotus, from whom alone we have any detail of the political affairs of these times, was too nearly cotemporary to be totally unbiassed by the interest which persons yet living would have in the credit of the principal actors. He makes a handsome apology for the refusal of the Cretans to join in the confederacy. They were desirous,

desirous, he says, of taking their share in the common defence of Greece, but an oracle forbad them. In regard to the Corcyraëans he has not been scrupulous: he plainly accuses them of scandalous treachery to the Grecian cause, after having engaged themselves to support it. Gelon tyrant of Syracuse was a very powerful prince, and his alliance would have been a great acquisition. But difficulties arose in accommodating his pretensions to command with those of the leading states of Greece. Partly absurd pride, partly perhaps reasonable jealousy, prevented them from immediately acceding to his terms; and in the mean time the invasion of Sicily by a Carthaginian army made his whole force necessary at home.

Corinth was the place appointed for the meeting of deputies from the confederated states to consult about the conduct of the war. None among the Grecian people had been more forward to join the confederacy than the Thessalians. Intelligence arrived that the Persian army had crossed the Hellespont, and was directing its march westward. This decided that Thessaly was the frontier to be first attacked. The Thessalians reasonably expected that a force would immediately be assembled, competent as far as the strength of Greece would admit, for the defence of the passes into their country. They were alarmed to find no measures taken for that purpose. They hastened therefore a remonstrance to Corinth, urging that the force of their province alone was utterly unequal to oppose the prodigious army which was coming against them; that it was not to be expected they should sacrifice themselves with their families for the sake of people who would not stir to assist them; that therefore a powerful army must without delay join them from the southern states; otherwise, however unwilling, they must necessarily endeavour to make terms with the enemy. This reasonable remonstrance roused the sluggish and hesitating counsels of the confederacy. A body of foot was embarked under the command of Evænetus, a Lacedæmonian, and Themistocles the Athenian. They proceeded through the Euripus to Allus, a port of Thessalian Achaia; and then marching across

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Herodot. l. vii.
c. 168, &
Diod. Sic. l.
xi. c. 15.
Herodot. l. vii.
c. 153 & seq.

l. vii. c. 172.

l. vii. c. 173.
Diodor. Sic.
l. xi. c. 2.

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the country, occupied the valley of Tempe, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa, the only pass from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly. The infantry from different states amounted to ten thousand men. Thessaly was the only province of Greece that possessed any considerable strength of cavalry. The whole of the Thessalian horse joined the confederate infantry, and together they made a force competent to defend the pass against any numbers.

But the Grecian army had not been many days incamped in Tempe when intelligence came from Alexander son of Amyntas, a Macedonian man (as Herodotus in the simple language of his age calls him, tho king of Macedonia by inheritance from a long race of ancestors claiming their descent from Hercules) informing them that the force by land and sea coming against them was immense: that there was another way into Thessaly, practicable for an army, from Upper Macedonia through Perrhæbia by the city of Gonnus; and if they would avoid being trodden under foot by their enemies, they would do well to retreat in time. The Grecian leaders, not thinking their strength equal to the defence of both passes, embarked their troops again, and returned to the Corinthian isthmus. The Thessalians, thus deserted, hastened to make their submission to the Persian monarch; and probably thinking themselves ill-used, and in a degree betrayed by the confederates, entered zealously into his service *.

The Grecian confederacy which remained to resist the whole force of the Persian empire, now consisted of a few little states, whose united territories did not equal single provinces of France, and the sum of whose population in free subjects was considerably inferior to that of the county of York in England. Nor was there, even among these, perfect unanimity, or any mode of general administration which could command constant and regular exertion of united strength. The retreat from Tempe appears to have been a precipi-

* *Ἐμῆδον περιδύμενος, οὐδέ τι ἰνδομαρῶς, ὥς τε ἐν τοῖσι πρὶν ἡμαρτὶ βασιλεῖς ἄνδρες ἴοντες χεστισμώταται.* Herodot. l. vii. c. 174.

tate measure, rendered necessary by nothing so much as by the want of some powers of government extending over the several states which composed the confederacy. The counsels of the Grecian commanders may however have been reasonably influenced by the consideration of the enemy's superiority at sea, which would inable him to pour in forces upon their rear, whatsoever posts they occupied.

The valuable assistance of Thessaly being lost, the consolation remained for the assembly at Corinth that, as their defence was now narrowed, their strength, such as it was, would be less divided; the fleet might more certainly coöperate with the army, and, if the attack was to begin nearer the center of the confederacy, the pressure itself of danger might inforce that union in council without which all defence would be hopeless. The nature of their country, and of its surrounding seas, was a farther encouragement: the one everywhere mountainous, the other broken with innumerable islands and headlands and subject to sudden storms, both were peculiarly favorable for defensive operations. The southern boundary of Thessaly, which now became their frontier, was advantageous beyond the rest.

The ridge of *Æta*, which forms it, extends from sea to sea; everywhere impracticable for an army, or so nearly so, that the smallest force might successfully oppose the greatest. This ridge is crossed nearly at right-angles by another scarcely less formidable, which, rising immediately from the Corinthian isthmus, stretches through the middle of Greece under various names, *Helicon*, *Parnassus*, *Pindus*, and, still in a northerly direction, shoots beyond Grecian bounds far among the barbarous nations. To enter Attica and Peloponnesus therefore by the western side of the country, first *Pindus*, then *Æta*, then *Parnassus*, must be surmounted. On the eastern side *Æta* alone opposed itself. But here only one pass was known, where the ridge at its eastern extremity meets the sea. In former ages the *Phocians* on the south of the mountains, more settled to husbandry than the *Thessalians* who lived on the north, to prevent predatory incursions upon their lands, had seized the commanding fastnesses, and

Strabo. l. ix.
p. 418 & 428,
429.

Strabo. *ibid.*
& p. 434.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 176.

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and established a garrison there. Across the middle of the narrow, where was a width of about fifty feet nearly level, they had erected a wall; and to strengthen the defence they formed, on the Thesfalian side, an inundation from some hot springs which rose near the foot of the mountain. These circumstances together acquired to the place the name of Thermopylæ, Hot-gates. A little north of Thermopylæ, the mountains so closed, and again a little southward they so pressed upon the sea, as barely to admit the passage of a single carriage. Nothing could be more commodious than this spot for the small force of the Greeks to make a stand against the immense army of Persia. It had the farther extraordinary advantage that, near at hand, and within ready communication, was a secure road for a fleet; so landlocked as to favor that also against superior numbers, yet affording means of retreat. Hither it was determined to send the whole naval force that could be collected, together with a body of troops sufficient to defend the pass.

But in the conduct even of this business we find the union of the confederated states extremely defective. Jealous of one another, destitute of any sufficient power extending over the whole, and fearing, not unreasonably, the naval superiority of the enemy, which might put it completely in his choice where, when, and how he would make his attacks, each little republic seems to have been anxious to reserve its strength for future contingencies. Lacedæmon again, as in the former war, pretended religion as a hindrance. The festival called Carneia was to be celebrated, immediately after which the whole force of the state should march against the enemy. Most of the Peloponnesian cities made similar excuses; and where no peculiar religious ceremony could be alledged, the Olympian festival, whose period coincided with these events, was a common excuse for all who wanted one. Lacedæmon therefore sent only three hundred men; Corinth four hundred; Phlius two hundred; Mycenæ, which, inconsiderable as it was, appears to have been at this time independent of Argos, probably through the interference of Sparta, sent eighty men.

Hærodot. l. vii.
c. 206.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 202.
Pausan. l. x.
c. 20.

men. The mountaineers of Arcadia alone, unversed in the wiles of politics, and unable to estimate the danger to be expected from naval operations, honestly exerted their strength in the common cause. The cities of Tegea and Mantinea sent each five hundred soldiers: the other towns made the whole number of Arcadians two thousand one hundred and twenty. To these the little city of Theſpiæ in Bœotia added no less than seven hundred: Thebes, ill-affected to the cause, gave only four hundred. The whole strength of Athens went to the naval armament. The other provinces without Peloponnesus had at this time no large towns, and their inhabitants, less civilized, were little politically connected with the southern states. The assembly at Corinth was however not wanting either in industry or ingenuity to persuade and encourage those nearest to the point of attack to use their utmost exertion against the invader. Ministers were sent through their towns and villages: ‘The force now sent by the confederate states,’ they were told, ‘was only the advanced guard of a powerful army expected every day. Those excessive apprehensions of the Persian power which had so pervaded Greece,’ it was added, ‘were absurd.’ For from the sea there was no reason for apprehension. The Athenians, Æginetans, and others who composed the allied fleet were fully equal to the defence of the country on that side. Nor was it a god that was coming against them, but a man: and there neither was, nor ever would be a mortal in whose lot, from his very birth, evil was not mingled, and most in the lot of those of highest station. In the common course of things therefore their invader, a mere mortal, would be disappointed of his hope.’ Hearing these things, continues the historian, whose original and almost cotemporary pencil gives us the very lineaments of the age, the Opuntian Locrians marched with their whole force, and the Phocians sent a thousand men. Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, commanded in chief.

Herodot. l.viii.
c. 203.

SECTION III.

The Grecian Army takes its Station at Thermopylæ; the Fleet at Artemisium. Responses of the Delphian Oracle. The Persian Fleet proceeds to Sepias; the Army to Thermopylæ. Numbers of the Persian Forces. Storm and Shipwreck at Sepias. Battle of Thermopylæ.

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Herodot. l. vii.
c. 127.

c. 128.

XERXES halted several days at Therme, to refresh his troops, to acquire intelligence, and to collect guides capable of conducting his multitudes through the difficult country to which he was approaching. It was determined to proceed by Upper Macedonia into Thessaly; that road being more favorable than the shorter way by the valley of Tempe. By sea the Grecian coast was so near that the fleet remained in the bay of Therme eleven days after the army had recommenced its march.

l. viii. c. 12.
l. vii. c. 177.

c. 179, 180.

It was now near Midsummer when intelligence reached the assembly at Corinth that Xerxes was arrived in Pieria. The forces under Leonidas then immediately marched to their station at Thermopylæ; and the fleet proceeded to the neighbouring road of Artemisium on the Eubœan coast. Hence three galleys, one of Træzene, one of Ægina, the third Athenian, were sent off the island of Sciathus, to watch the motions of the enemy. Ten Persian galleys, also sent to explore, fell in with them. The Greeks immediately fled. The Træzenian ship and the Æginetan were taken with their crews. The Athenian captain ran his galley ashore near the mouth of the Peneius, and escaped by land with his people. The Persians took possession of the deserted vessel. Immediately signals by fire from the heights of Sciathus gave notice to the Greeks at Artemisium of the enemy's approach. So little firm were the leaders yet in their counsels, and so extremely apprehensive of the enemy's great superiority, that they immediately withdrew their fleet to Chalcis, proposing to defend the narrow

narrow pass of the Euripus *. Scouts were left on the heights at the northwestern end of Eubœa still to watch the enemy.

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In this time indeed of extreme difficulty and danger to the Greeks, constant and equal prudence appears scarcely anywhere but among the managers of the Delphian oracle. The Delphian citizens, dreading, like the rest, the approaching invasion, consulted their god. The response directed them to pray to the winds; for these might be powerful assistants to Greece. This divine admonition was communicated among the confederate Greeks, and most thankfully received †. Another response was reported directing the Athenians in particular to invoke their son-in-law. According to ancient tradition, Boreas god of the northwind, coming from Thrace, perhaps really a Thracian chief of that name, had married Oreithyia daughter of Erechtheus king of Attica. The prayers of the Athenians were therefore particularly directed to the northwind, with some confidence, at least among the vulgar, that they were not without peculiar interest with that deity. Those indeed who know the power of whistling or of an eggshell upon the minds of English seamen at this day, may imagine what the encouragement of the Delphian oracle to expect assistance from Boreas and their princess Oreithyia might do among the Athenians. The event however which soon followed gave more solid ground of hope, and might naturally excite the recollection of the relation of Athens to the northwind, if it had not before been thought of.

Herodot. l. vii.
c. 178.

l. vii. c. 189.

The ten Persian galleys, after the capture of the Grecian vessels, proceeded in their business of exploring; but in passing between the island of Sciathus and the main, three of them struck upon a rock called Myrmex. The fleet, as we have observed, lay in the bay of Therme eleven days after the king had recommenced his march.

l. vii. c. 183.

* Καταφύσσοντες is the strong expression of Herodotus (1). In another place he adds the corroborating adverb διῶς. † Καὶ σφί, διῶς καταφύσσουσι τὸν Βόρεον, ἱεργήσαντες, χάριν ἀδελφῶν κατέθετο. Herodot. l. vii. c. 178.

(1) l. vii. c. 182.

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 SECT. III. Grecian coast was clear of the enemy, and dangerous only from
 ~~~~~ rocks, vessels were sent with stone to erect a mark on the Myrmex,  
 and Pammon, a Greek of the island of Scyros (for Herodotus has  
 taken care to record the traitor's name) was engaged to pilot the fleet  
 through the channel of Sciathus. Proceeding then from the bay of  
 Therme, one day brought them to the bay between the town of  
 Casthanæa and the foreland of Sepias on the Thessalian coast.

The army meanwhile had made its way through Upper Macedonia  
 into Perrhæbia, and by the town of Gonnus across Thessaly to the  
 neighbourhood of Thermopylæ without opposition. Here Herodotus  
 again enumerates the Persian forces by land and sea, with the addi-  
 tion acquired since the departure of the armament from Doriscus.  
 This addition, he says, cannot be ascertained, but may be computed.  
 The Greeks of Thrace and the adjacent islands furnished one hundred  
 and twenty ships, whose crews would amount to about twenty-four  
 thousand men. The land-force, from the various people of Thrace,  
 Macedonia, and Thessaly, he estimates at three hundred thousand.  
 The number of fighting men in the whole armament by sea and land  
 would thus be two million six hundred forty-one thousand six hun-  
 dred and ten. The attending multitude he supposes could not be  
 fewer, but rather more. Reckoning them equal, the numbers un-  
 der the command of Xerxes, which arrived without misfortune at  
 Sepias and Thermopylæ, were five million two hundred eighty-three  
 thousand two hundred and twenty men, exclusive of women and  
 eunuchs without number, and a vast train of incumbrances little  
 known to European armies, but which in all ages have attended the  
 Asiatic. Whatever exaggeration may be in this account, we shall in  
 vain seek more authentic information from later writers. Herodotus's  
 detail of the nations from which the armament was collected, and of  
 the measures taken to provide for its subsistence, defective as the latter  
 is, afford the best of any existing means for forming some idea, if  
 not of its numbers, yet of its immensity. Exactness we cannot  
 have,

have, nor anything approaching it : \* but we know that Asia has often sent forth armies which appear next to prodigious ; and every testimony makes it probable that the forces led by Xerxes against Greece were the most numerous ever assembled in the world.

The road of Casthanæa was open to the north and north-east winds ; and so little spacious that an eighth division only of the vast fleet of Persia could be moored in one line against the shore : the other seven rode at anchor with their heads toward the sea. Such a situation could never be safe for the ancient galleys, peculiarly fitted for a navigation where want of sea-room makes a storm most dangerous to the stoutest vessels. The night after their arrival was calm : but in the morning the wind freshened from the north-east \*. In those seas, where storms are often very sudden and always very dangerous, the seaman, unacquainted with those great principles of navigation which direct a vessel over the globe, but which in his narrow sphere of action would be useless, is yet singularly attentive in observation of the weather, and singularly acute in prognostication of it. As soon as it was perceived in the Persian fleet that a violent storm was approaching, the division of galleys next the shore was drawn upon the beach. The rest were to provide for their safety as they could. According to Herodotus they seem to have scattered to seek a port, or a safe and unoccupied beach, which to the ancients was a port. But the storm hastily grew excessive. Some of the vessels were stranded on the place : some were driven upon the Sepiad foreland ; some against the cliffs of Pelion ; some to the towns of Casthanæa and Melibœa. Three

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 188 & seq.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 12.

\* Herodotus calls the wind Apeliotes, but he says the people of the country called it the Hellepontian wind. The apeliotes, according to Stuart's account of the tower of the winds yet remaining at Athens, was the east. But the Hellespont lay nearly north-east from Sepias : and the effects of the storm described by Herodotus show that the wind must have been some degrees northward of the east. I have said thus much on a subject, in itself of little consequence, principally because I would

not be thought to controvert the authority of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, or of Mr. Stuart's account of it. But I will add that the accuracy in stating winds usual with our seamen, was not common among the ancients ; nor is it at this day in many parts of the Mediterranean, where winds are still named from the countries whence they blow, without any very exact reference to the points of the compass.

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days the tempest lasted with unabated violence. The Persian commanders were in the utmost alarm; apprehensive, not only for what might be lost, but also for what was yet safe on shore. The Theslians were but very lately become friends and subjects: a reverse of fortune might shake their fidelity, and tempt them to hostilities. A rampart was therefore formed round the naval camp, chiefly from the ruins of the wrecked vessels.

The simplicity with which Herodotus details the actions of men, often marks the genuine workings of human nature both more faithfully and with more animation than the cautious and polished manner of writers of more artificial judgement. The dread which pervaded the Grecian fleet on the approach of the Persian armament may be imagined from the hasty, and apparently improvident retreat from Artemisium; which must expose the land-force at Thermopylæ to certain destruction; since the fleet alone could secure it from being taken in rear. The joy at the view of the rising tempest, and the consequent confidence in divine favor would be proportional. The Athenian seamen did not now forget the god of the Thracian wind with his Attic princefs. Immediately they set with great earnestness to sacrifices and prayers, requesting those deities ‘to vindicate Attica, and ‘bring destruction on the barbarian fleet as they had formerly done at ‘Athos.’ Whether this really induced Boreas to fall upon the barbarians, says Herodotus, I cannot undertake to say\*: but the Athenians assert it, and in consequence they have built a temple to him on the bank of the Ilissus. Whether indeed Herodotus believed the oracular admonition to have been promulgated before the event, appears dubious: his expressions imply suspicion. On the second day of the storm the destruction and distress produced in the Persian fleet became manifest to the Grecian scouts on the Euboic heights, who hastened to Chalcis with the intelligence. Immediately public thanks were returned, and libations poured to Neptune the

\* *Ἐπεὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι θεμεῖον Βορέης ἐπέτατο διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας.* Herodot. l. vii. c. 189.

deliverer; and in the confidence that now the Persian force would be no longer formidable, it was determined to reoccupy the former station at Artemisium.

The loss of the Persians was very great. It is not likely that the Greeks would ever have any correct account of it; but according to the lowest report four hundred galleys of war were sunk or destroyed. The loss of men could be only computed from that of vessels: but means were totally wanting to estimate the destruction of storeships and attending vessels. As soon as the weather was become moderate and the sea smooth, the Persian commanders, without waiting to collect the scattered remains of their fleet, hastened to leave so dangerous a station. Coasting Magnesia they entered the Pagasan gulph, better known afterward by the name of the Pelagian. Fifteen galleys, of those dispersed by the storm, following some days after, fell in with the Grecian fleet, which had resumed its station off Artemisium; and mistaking it for the Persian, were all taken. Among the prisoners were Sandoces governor of Cuma in Æolis, Aridolis tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, and Penthylus commander of the Paphian squadron. Of twelve galleys which Paphos had furnished, the one only in which the commander was taken had survived the hurricane. This capture was very fortunate for the Greeks. Beside the additional loss to the enemy and the gain of so many ships of war to themselves, spirits were added to the multitude, and intelligence was acquired to the commanders. As soon as the prisoners had been examined before the principal officers of the fleet, they were sent to the assembly at Corinth.

The prospect of Grecian affairs was now brightened a little. If the fleet could oppose the enemy with but equal success, it might be hoped that the nature of the frontier would render the prodigious numbers of his army unavailing. To the south of Thessaly mount Ceta, as we have observed, stretches across the country from sea to sea. North of Thermopylae, and bordering upon the Malian bay, is a plain in one part wide, in others very narrow, inclosed by high and impracticable

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 198.

CHAP. IX. impracticable mountains called the Trachinian rocks. The Persian  
 SECT. III. army, crossing Thessaly from Upper Macedonia, had moved southward  
 up the course of the river Apidanus; and then, turning eastward, followed the Spercheius to the valley and town of Anticyra, and thence entered the Malian plain. At the town of Trachis, in the widest part of the plain, the king fixed his head-quarters. Southward of this town the river Asopus, after coasting for some way the foot of the mountain, which is a branch of Cæta, enters a cleft of it, and the only road is by the course of that river. A little farther southward a small stream called the Phœnix, falling from the hills, meets the Asopus: and here masonry had been necessary to make the way passable for a single carriage\*. The Asopus having made its course by the cleft through the mountain-ridge, which is here narrow, enters a valley of some length, but little width, and presently discharges itself into the Malian bay. In this valley, and on the bank of the Asopus, was the town of Anthela, with the temple of Ceres, the temple of Amphictyon, and the place of meeting of the Amphictyonic assembly. Thermopylæ was a little beyond them, and less than two English miles from the junction of the Asopus and Phœnix. The Persian monarch commanded all to the north of the mountains: the Greeks under Leonidas held the pass.

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 200.

c. 201.

c. 207.

Plutarch.  
Apoph. Lac.

A prince like Xerxes, wholly unexperienced in war, might expect, as Herodotus says of him, that the force under his orders was capable of anything against men, and almost against nature itself. According to that author, he waited four days in expectation that the Greeks would retreat from his irresistible numbers, and leave him an uninterrupted passage. And this, according to the same honest historian, would actually have happened but for the superior genius and unshaken courage of the Lacedæmonian king. It has been added that a herald was sent to Leonidas, commanding him in the name of

\* That I imagine to be the sense of the phrase ἀπαξίτος γὰρ μὴ μόνον διδύκται. Herodot. l. vii. c. 200. See Wesseling's note.

Xerxes to come and deliver his arms; and that the Spartan prince answered with Laconic brevity only 'Come and take them.' But among the Persian generals there were probably men of experience and judgement, not incapable of informing their sovereign how useless his numbers would be in the pass of Thermopylæ. Numerous also as the Greeks were under his command, information might easily come to him of the divisions among those who opposed him, and of the disposition of some to retire. He might likewise be informed that the Spartan king boasted his descent from the hero Hercules, who is said to have ended his mortal life on mount Ceta, and to whom, as a god, an altar stood dedicated in the valley of Anihela: but of these things the Persians would not be likely to make much account; and they could not be informed of the superior talents of Leonidas, who had never yet had an opportunity of making them conspicuous. The credit due to Herodotus we continue always to find very nearly proportioned to his probable means of information. When those were good he seldom or never relates absurd tales. Where they have been deficient he never scruples to report any rumor. Information of public orders to the Persian army might come to him; but the actions, and still more the passions of Xerxes upon his throne, which he pretends to describe, would not be matters of common notoriety. Xerxes we are told, on the fifth day, commanded the Medes and Cissians of his army alone to go and bring all the Greeks under Leonidas alive into his presence. The attack made in consequence is likely to have been ineffectual enough to disgrace those troops in some degree in the eyes of their inexperienced sovereign. The Persian guards, called the immortal band, followed in the attack. According to Herodotus the efforts of this band were very spirited; and he accounts very honestly for their want of success. Their short spears were inefficacious, and their numbers useless against the longer weapons of the Greeks, and on ground so confined. Their attacks were however renewed and varied in all the ways that their leaders could devise. Numbers fell, and no impression was made. The report,

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 210.

c. 211.

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Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 212.

report, which the historian adds, is likely enough to have become afterward popular in Greece, that the Persian monarch leaped thence from his throne as he anxiously viewed the conflict. From the description of the place, however, it seems impossible that his throne could have been within sight, and very little likely that he should himself have seen the action. The immortal band, after having suffered severely, was at length recalled, and the Persian generals were greatly at a loss. The attempt was however renewed the next day, in the hope that wounds and the fatigue of incessant attacks might weary the small numbers of the Greeks, and oblige them to quit their advantageous ground. But the little army of Leonidas was equal to its purpose; his reliefs were judiciously managed, and the second day's attack was unavailing like the former.

c. 213.

c. 175.

c. 212 &amp; 217.

c. 216.

c. 215.

Among the various advantages beyond estimation, which the Persian monarch possessed over the little Grecian confederacy, may be reckoned the means almost unbounded of rewarding those who would serve him. The hope of profiting from these brought information of another pass over the mountain; circuitous indeed and difficult, but by which the Thessalians had sometimes entered Locris and Phocis for plunder after the fortifying of Thermopylæ. In more settled times it had been neglected, but was not unknown among the neighbouring inhabitants. Leonidas had appointed the Phocians under his command to the guard of it. The path began at the cleft in the mountain through which the Asopus has its channel. Hence, by a winding course, it ascended a hill, distinguished by the name of Anopæa from the heights of Cæta on one side and the Trachinian rocks on the other. Holding then for some space along the top of the ridge, it descended directly to Alpeni, the first town of Locris. The resolution was immediately taken among the Persian generals to make an attempt this way. A strong detachment marched about dusk under the command of Hydarnes, and arrived by daybreak without opposition near the summit of Anopæa. Here the Phocian guard had its station. The oaks with which the mountain was covered had  
concealed



concealed the approach of the enemy. The Phocians, whose discipline in general was probably less cultivated than that of Lacedæmon or Athens, had neglected the necessary precautions of advanced guards and out-sentries. They were first alarmed by the noise of a multitude of men treading among the fallen leaves; which, as the weather was perfectly serene, they heard at some distance. Immediately they ran to arms. But, with the inconsiderateness of men surprized, imagining themselves the ultimate object of the attack, instead of taking proper measures to fulfil the important purpose of their post by preventing the passage of the enemy, they retreated on one side of the path to gain more advantageous ground for defence. The judicious Hydarnes, leaving them to their desired security, continued his march, and, quickly descending the mountain, reached the plain unmolested.

The Persian army so abounded with Greeks, most of them involuntarily pressed, that deserters would not be wanting to inform Leonidas of whatever could be generally known in the enemy's camp. That very night intelligence came that a strong detachment was marched for the mountains. Early in the morning the scouts of the army \* arrived with information that the enemy had already passed the Phocian guard, and were descending toward the plain. Immediately a council of the Grecian commanders was held. Opinions were divided; some thinking it became them still to maintain their post; others that the consequence of the attempt could be but a useless waste of lives, which ought by all means to be preserved for the future wants of their country. The debate ended in a general resolution to retreat with all speed to their respective cities, the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians only remaining. Herodotus mentions it as uncertain whether Leonidas dismissed the rest. The Thespians alone appear to have resolved voluntarily to abide the event with him: the Thebans he would not suffer to depart; keeping them as hostages on account of the known disaffection of their city to the Grecian cause. Leonidas himself determined upon this great occasion to exhibit to the world a memo-

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 219.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 8.

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 220.

\* *Οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγέων.* Herodot. l. vii. c. 219.

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Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 223, & seq.

able example of obedience to that law of Sparta, which forbid, under whatsoever disadvantage, to fly from an enemy. Considering the disposition which so widely prevailed among the Greeks to fear the Persian power, and shrink before it, there appears not less true patriotic wisdom than wonderful magnanimity in that prince's conduct. The oracular response from Delphi, whether real or feigned after the event, which is said to have declared that either Sparta or its king must fall, adds nothing to its lustre. Upon fair historical testimony it has been fully equal to the warm and abundant eulogies which writers of various ages and nations have vied in bestowing upon it. Animated by his example every Lacedæmonian and Theſpian under his command was resolved to die, but to die gloriously for himself, and as far as possible usefully for his country. To be surrounded being now unavoidable, the object was no longer to guard the pass, but to chuse the spot where, in sacrificing themselves, they might make the greatest destruction of the enemy. The narrow therefore, at the junction of the Phœnix and Asopus, was given up, and the little band was collected at the wall of Thermopylæ. About the middle of the forenoon \*, when it was supposed Hydarnes might be nearly arrived in the rear of the Greeks, a chosen body from the Persian army advanced to the assault in front. Leonidas now gave a loose to the fury of men prepared for death. Advancing before the wall he attacked the Persians in the wider part of the valley, made great slaughter, and caused such confusion that, through want of room for the ill-disciplined multitude, numbers were forced into the sea, and many expired under the pressure of their own people. Himself, fighting at the head of his band, fell early. The engagement was nevertheless continued, with advantage on the side of the Greeks, till Hydarnes came in sight in their rear. Then they retreated again to the narrow at the wall. The Thebans took this opportunity to beg mercy of the conquerors; but, in the very act of surrendering, many through the confusion were killed: the rest were made prisoners. The surviving Lacedæmonians and Theſpians gained a hillock, where they fought surrounded till they were slain to a man.

———— \* χρόνος ἐς ἀγνοίας καὶ μάλα πᾶσι ἀπαιδευμένοι. Herodot. l. vii. c. 223.

Such

Such is the account given by Herodotus of this extraordinary and celebrated action. The circumstances might come authenticated to him through the Greeks who served with the Persians; and every anecdote that could be collected would no doubt be heard with eagerness and preserved with care\*. The names of all the three hundred Spartans were still upon record in the historian's time. Two of them survived the battle, having been accidentally absent; Aristodemus, who was, with the prince's leave, for the recovery of his health at Alpeni; and Pantites, sent on public business into Theflaly. It being however reported at Lacedæmon that Eurytus, who had also had leave from Leonidas to remain at Alpeni on account of sickness, nevertheless joined on the day of battle and fell with his comrades; and that Pantites might have so hastened his return as to have shared in the glory of the day, both were dishonored. Pantites in consequence strangled himself: but Aristodemus, with greater fortitude, supported life; and was happy enough in the sequel to find an opportunity for distinguishing his courage in the cause of his country, so as completely to retrieve his reputation. According to the same writer the body of the Spartan king, being discovered among the heaps of slain, was, by order of Xerxes, beheaded, and the trunk ignominiously exposed on a cross. But, the historian adds, this was contrary to the general principles and practice of the Persians, who were accustomed, beyond all other people, to honor military merit even in their enemies. This honest observation, to the credit of the enemies, and in opposition to the prejudices of his country, proves not less the extensive information and just judgement than the candor of Herodotus; for every authentic account marks the Persians for a people of liberal sentiments and polished manners beyond almost any other in all antiquity.

\* Some seem to have been invented after the age of Herodotus. The report of Diodorus, followed by Plutarch, Justin and others, that Leonidas with his Spartans attacked the Persian camp by night and penetrated to the royal

tent, is little consistent with the other circumstances, whether of place or time. Indeed most of the tales, the omission of which by Herodotus has so much excited the indignation of Plutarch, appear fitter for poetry than history.

## SECTION IV.

*Numbers of the Grecian Fleet. Sea-fights off Artemisium. Retreat of the Grecian Fleet. March of the Persian Army toward Athens. Attempt against Delphi.*

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Herodot.  
I. viii. c. 1.

DURING this memorable scene at Thermopylæ, the fleets in the neighbouring channel had not been inactive. The Persians wanted to force the passage between Eubœa and the main; for the double purpose of attending more closely the motions of their army, and avoiding the dangers of the more open sea. The business therefore of the Grecian fleet was, as Herodotus has observed, like that of the army, to defend the straits. It consisted of two hundred and seventy-one trireme galleys, with a few of those smaller vessels called pente-centers. The penteconter, the vessel of Homer's age, had, like the modern rowboat, only one tier of oars, and its complement of rowers was from fifty to sixty. The trireme, it is generally supposed, had three tier of oars; by which it gained that swiftness so important in the ancient mode of naval action. Its ordinary complement of rowers seems to have been about a hundred and sixty; beside whom it commonly carried forty soldiers, and sometimes more; but, on emergencies, particularly when boarded, the whole crew acted with arms \*. Of the triremes now in the Grecian fleet, no less than one

\* In the Athenian fleet at the battle of Salamis there were, according to Plutarch in his Life of Themistocles, only eighteen soldiers in each trireme; of whom four were bowmen, the rest regular heavy-armed infantry. But it appears clearly from Herodotus that a greater complement was common. Every Chian trireme at the battle off Miletus had forty: and every trireme of the Persian fleet under Xerxes had thirty Persians or Medes over and above the ordinary complement of soldiers of the country to which the trireme belonged. See Herodot. b. vi. c. 15, b. vii. c. 184, and b. viii. c. 130.

The arrangement of the rowers in the ancient galleys of war, the triremes and quinqueremes, much disputed among the moderns, remains yet uncertain; but by far the most

satisfactory conjectures upon the subject are those of General Melvill, of which an account is given in the Appendix to Governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities. Along the waist of the galley, according to the general's supposition, from a little above the water's edge, a gallery projected at an angle of about forty-five degrees. In this the upper rowers were disposed, checkered with the lower. Space for them being thus gained, partly by elevation, partly by lateral projection, those of the highest tier were not too much above the water to work their oars with effect. The general has been confirmed in his opinion that this was the real form of the ancient galleys of war by representations of them, tho imperfect, in ancient paintings and reliefs which he has seen in Italy.

hundred

hundred and twenty-seven were furnished by Athens, a very few years before unable to cope at sea with the inhabitants of the Æginetan rock; and more were still preparing in the Athenian ports. Forty were sent by Corinth; twenty by Megara: the Chalcidians of Eubœa manned twenty lent to them by the Athenians: Ægina sent eighteen; Sicyon twelve; Lacedæmon only ten; Epidaurus eight; Eretria seven; Træzene five; and the islands of Styros and Ceos each two. The Plataeans, wholly unacquainted with naval business but zealously attached to Athens, served as marine soldiers in the Athenian fleet. To these triremes the Opuntian Locrians added five penteconters, and the Ceians two.

In an armament to which they contributed so much the largest proportion, the Athenians might seem justly to claim the chief command: yet, such was the reputation and influence which Lacedæmon held among the Greeks, the allies absolutely refused to serve under any but a Spartan commander. Eurybiades was therefore admiral of the fleet. Historians have upon this occasion justly applauded the moderation of the Athenian leaders, who patiently acquiesced under this decision; and, superior to little punctilio, continued with unabated zeal to prosecute the great purposes of the common cause. But the Athenian counsels were at this time directed by a man who could conceal unbounded desire of glory under the appearance of modesty; who, with a temper as pliable as his genius was penetrating, weighing the necessities of the times, and foreseeing the opportunities of ambition, could not only accommodate himself to all seasons and circumstances, but had skill to lead the froward populace of Athens to submit their passions to his opinion. Herodotus relates an anecdote of him, too remarkable, whencesoever the information was derived, and too characteristic to be omitted\*. The Persian fleet, being collected after their late misfortunes, appeared in the road of Aphetæ, at the mouth of the Pelasgian gulph, and opposite to Artemisium at the distance of not more than ten miles, in far greater

Herodot.  
I. viii. c. 2, &c  
seq.

\* See Note 45, p. 621, of Wesseling's Herodotus. Plutarch, tho in his Treatise against Herodotus he has expressed great indignation at this tale, yet in his Life of Themistocles he has related very nearly the same.

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numbers than the Greeks had expected. The whole neighbouring country was at the same time filled with the immense multitude of their military host. Alarm spread on all sides, and the contagion reached the commanders of the Grecian squadrons. It was proposed to retreat to the interior seas of Greece †. The Eubœans who had engaged in the confederacy, being informed of this, were in the highest consternation. They sent immediately to Eurybiades, begging that the fleet might remain for their protection only till they could remove their families and most valuable effects. The admiral refused. The Eubœans then applied to the Athenian commander. Themistocles, whose opinion was before decided against the retreat, told them that, tho words could not persuade, gold might; and for thirty talents, about six thousand pounds sterling, he would engage that the fleet should remain and fight the Persians. The money was presently paid into his hands. Five talents then brought over the commander in chief; and under his orders all the commanders of squadrons readily consented to remain, except Adeimantus the Corinthian. ‘To him then,’ says Herodotus, ‘Themistocles swore, saying, “Neither shalt thou leave us; for I will “give thee more than the Persian king would send thee for deserting “thy allies;” and immediately ordered three talents to be conveyed to his ship. Fear of the accusation, or gratification with the present prevailed; and thus were the principal Grecian commanders bribed to the opinion of Themistocles, and to the protection of the Eubœans; and the fleet, probably to the great advantage of the common cause, remained in its station.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 6 & 7.

Next morning at daybreak the Persian admirals moved. They had proposed immediately to attack the Grecian fleet; but after approaching enough to observe how inferior it was to their own, they concluded that, if they should advance, the Greeks would certainly retreat, and, through their knowledge of the narrow seas behind them, would probably escape. On consultation it was there-

\* Έτα ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Herodot. l. viii. c. 4.

fore determined to send two hundred galleys round Eubœa to take a station in the rear of the Greeks; the main body abstaining from attack till it should be known by signals that the squadron so detached was arrived at the station proposed.

During these transactions Scyllias, a Greek of Scione, a remarkable diver, who, from having been useful to the Persian commanders in recovering many things of value from the wreck of their lost ships, had been introduced to means of information, deserted to the Greeks. He brought a more exact account of the present strength of the enemy's fleet than the Grecian commanders had yet obtained, and he informed them of the squadron sent round Eubœa. Immediately a council of war was held; and, after much debate, it was determined that the whole fleet should weigh at midnight, and go against the detached squadron; in the just hope that, taken separately, it might easily be overpowered. In the evening however, having received no farther intelligence of it, (for, to avoid observation, it had been directed to keep a considerable distance from the Eubœan coast) the Grecian commanders determined to try an attack upon the main body of the Persian fleet; or rather perhaps upon some part of it, when daylight would not suffice for bringing the whole into action, and when, should they nevertheless be overpowered, night would favor their retreat. They founded hopes also on a friendly disposition in the Ionian commanders; of whom some were indeed well inclined to them, while others were no less earnest to gain the Persian monarch's favor, and earn the rewards promised for zeal shown in his service. A sharp engagement ensued. If we may believe Herodotus, the Greeks took thirty galleys; tho he says afterward that neither side could claim a victory. Among the prisoners however made by the Greeks, was Philaon, brother of Gorgus king of Salamis in Cyprus, a man of great estimation among the enemy's officers. Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, obtained the reward of valor for being the first who took a Persian galley. Antidorus of Lemnos was the only Grecian captain in the Persian service who deserted with his ship

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 8, & seq.

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to the confederate Greeks. The Athenian government afterward rewarded him with a grant of lands in the island of Salamis. In the night the Greeks resumed their station at Artemisium; the Persians remained at Apheta.

Herodot.  
l. viii. c. 12.

The Grecian fleet had scarcely cast anchor when a storm arose, attended with heavy rain and violent thunder. The drift of the storm carried the wreck of the late engagement and the floating bodies among the Persian ships. Their cables were intangled, their oars impeded. Repeated flashes of lightning, amid extreme darkness, served only to discover the horrors of the scene, while the uncommon resonance of the thunder among the neighboring summits of Pelion struck the seamen with the imagination that the gods themselves were thus loudly declaring their anger: a fancy likely enough to arise in the minds at least of the Grecian seamen in the Persian fleet; who, according to the belief of their age, were making war against the gods of their mother-country. The detached squadron, meanwhile, in the open sea, as it was there called where none was truly open sea, driving before the storm, and ignorant of their course, fell among the rocks of that peculiarly dangerous bay of the Eubœan coast called the Cœla \*. All perished: ‘and thus,’ says Herodotus, ‘the deity interfered to reduce the Persian force more nearly to an equality with the Grecian.’

l. viii. c. 13, &  
Diod. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 13.

Herodot.  
l. viii. c. 14 &  
seq.

All the next day the Persians remained in their station; while a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian galleys joined the Grecian fleet, bringing with them the welcome news of the destruction of the enemy's squadron on the Euboic rocks. Thus encouraged the Grecian commanders were the more intent upon watching opportunities for farther advantages. Means were observed for cutting off the Cilician squadron. The attempt was made in the evening, and succeeded;

\* Sinus Euboicus, quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. xxxi. c. 41. See Note 78, p. 625. of Wesseling's Herodotus.



and in the night the fleet again resumed its station at Artemisium. The Persian commanders, irritated by repeated insults from an enemy so inferior, and apprehensive of blame for remissness, determined on the following day to attack the Grecian fleet with their whole remaining force. About noon they advanced, formed in a semicircle, with a view to surround the enemy. The Greeks waited in their station, probably an advantageous one. The plan of attack of the Persians, if well conceived, appears to have been ill executed. Such a multitude of vessels indeed, manned with people of different nations and languages, who varied both in method and in degrees of skill, must be extremely liable to disorder, and little fit to undertake nice and complicated evolutions. In approaching the enemy they crossed and fell against one another. The battle was nevertheless warmly maintained. The Egyptians distinguished themselves, and took five Grecian galleys. More than half the Attic squadron was disabled. Cleinias the Athenian, however, obtained the reward of valor for his behaviour in a galley built and manned with two hundred men at his private expence. Herodotus affirms that the Greeks remained masters of the wreck and of the dead: but these seem to have been their only tokens of victory. The historian acknowledges that they suffered greatly; and indeed proceeds to give the strongest proof of it by relating that, in a council of war held immediately after the engagement, it was resolved to retreat to the interior seas of Greece. This resolution was farther confirmed, and the measure hastened, by the arrival of Abronychus, an Athenian, who had been stationed with a light vessel at Thermopylæ for the purpose of communicating intelligence, and who now brought information of the circumvention of Leonidas and his party, and the retreat of the rest of the army. It was then resolved not to delay for a moment the retreat of the fleet. The whole moved in the accidental order of the instant: the Corinthians led, the Athenians formed the rear.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 21.

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Herod. l. viii.  
c. 19, & 22.

But Themistocles, ever fertile in expedients, conceived the idea of making even the flight of his fellowcountrymen useful to his country. With some of the swiftest galleys of the squadron under his command, he went to the watering-places of the road of Artemisium, which he concluded the enemy would scarcely fail to visit next day, and there on the rocks he wrote thus : ‘ Men of Ionia, you do ill in making war upon your fathers, and contributing your endeavours to enslave Greece. Come therefore over to us ; or, if that cannot be, remain neuter, and persuade the Carians to the same measure. But if the necessity which compels you to the part you are engaged in, is such as to make a secession impracticable, yet, when we come to action, avoid exertion against us ; remembering that you are descended from one blood with us, and that the enmity of the Persians was first drawn upon us in your cause.’ I imagine, continues the historian, that Themistocles had two views in this. If the inscriptions should be observed only by the Greeks of the Persian fleet, he hoped that some might be persuaded by them : but if the matter should be reported to the Persian chiefs, the Ionians would become suspected, and perhaps might be excluded from the line of battle in future engagements.

c. 23.

The road of Artemisium was no sooner clear than a Greek of the neighbouring town of Histiaæ hastened in a light boat to the Persian fleet to obtain the reward for such intelligence. Some swift vessels were immediately dispatched to ascertain the truth of the report, and at sunrise the whole fleet weighed and proceeded to Artemisium. The same day the Persians took possession of the town of Histiaæ ; and the neighbouring district of the island hastened to make submission.

c. 26.

About the same time the army recommenced its march from Thermopylæ. Some Arcadians, poor and without prospect at home, had been tempted by the fame of the great king’s riches and liberality to wander thus far to offer their services to him. Herodotus seems to relate their story not more for the purpose of eulogy than of admonition

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dition to his country. They were introduced, he says, to the presence of Xerxes, and being asked ‘ what was doing in Greece?’ they answered with great simplicity, ‘ That it was the season of the Olympian games, and that consequently the Greeks were amusing themselves with seeing athletic exercises and horse-races.’ Being again asked, ‘ What was the reward of the conquerors in those games?’ they answered, ‘ an olive garland.’ Upon which Tritantæchmes, a prince of the blood-royal of Persia, exclaimed, ‘ Oh Mardonius, what a people have you brought us to fight against; who contend among themselves not for riches but for virtue!’

But whatever might be the general simplicity or the general virtue of the Greeks of this age, their patriotism at least was of very various complexions in the different states, and in the different factions of the same state. Of the provinces from mount Cæta to the isthmus, Phocis almost alone was faithful to the confederate cause, the cause of Grecian independency. From the moment when the Persians became masters of Thermopylæ Locris could not avoid submission. Doris, and all Bæotia, except the little cities of Thespia and Platæa, had always been adverse to the confederacy, and with ready zeal seized the first opportunity to acknowledge themselves subjects of the Persian monarch. Herodotus, with great appearance of reason, attributes the firmness even of the Phocians more to their extreme animosity against the Thessalians, their hereditary enemies, and to the partial consideration of the peculiar interest of their province, than to any generous regard for common welfare, or any enlarged view of Grecian independency. If the Thessalians, he says, had held with the Greeks, the same animosity would have led the Phocians to join the enemy.

The Persians proceeded from Thermopylæ with the Thessalians for their guides. Turning immediately to the right along the root of Cæta, they then directed their march through the narrow vales of Doris toward the river Cephissus. The Dorian territory was spared, for the Dorians were zealous in the Persian cause; but as soon as the army entered Phocis, at the instigation of the Thessalians rather than

Thucyd. l. iii.  
c. 56 & 62.  
Plato. Menex.  
p. 241. t. ii.  
Hæcat. Pan-  
nathen.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 30.

c. 31.

c. 31, 32, &  
Diod. Sic. l. xii.  
c. 14.

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from the disposition of the Persians, destruction was begun with fire and sword. The main body of the army followed the course of the Cephissus. Detachments burnt the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedicæ, Tritæa, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, Abæ, with their temples. The people fled; many to the fastnesses of mount Parnassus; some to Amphissia and other towns of the Ozolian Locrians; which, lying beyond the ridges of Parnassus and Helicon, were in less immediate danger. A few were taken and reduced to slavery. From Panopeæ a detachment was sent to seize the treasures of Delphi; about which so much had been said by the Greeks under Xerxes, that Herodotus supposes the Persian monarch to have had more perfect knowledge of them than of what he had left in his own palace at Susa. The main body continued their march through the friendly province of Bœotia toward Athens.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 35.

The defence of Delphi, itself a curious object, is not the less so for the veil with which interested ingenuity has industriously covered it, and which superstitious ignorance would rather double than withdraw. The account transmitted by Herodotus, apparently current with the credulity of his age, may therefore be neither unamusing nor totally uninforming. As soon as news arrived that the Persians were in possession of Thermopylæ, the Delphian citizens, anxious for themselves, anxious for their temple, anxious for its riches of which they were guardians, consulted their own oracle. They requested directions particularly concerning the sacred treasures; whether they should bury them; or whether they should carry them to some other country. The god, says the historian, would suffer nothing to be moved. He declared that he would himself take charge of what belonged to him. The Delphians were thus relieved at least from their responsibility to the Greek nation. Their cares were therefore now confined to themselves and their families. Their wives and children were sent across the Corinthian gulph into Achaia. The men, except a few who withdrew to Amphissia in Locris, occupied

l. viii. c. 36  
& seq.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 14.

pied the neighbouring fastnesses among the crags of Parnassus. The Corycian cavern, a large natural vault in the side of the mountain near the city, received many. All quitted Delphi except sixty men and the prophet. The Persian detachment meanwhile approached by the way of Panope, Daulis, Lilæa, Phocian towns, which they burnt. As they drew near Delphi and were now in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw the sacred armour, which it is unlawful for any mortal to touch, brought by some invisible power from the recess of the fane and laid before the building. But no sooner was the advanced guard arrived at the chapel of Minerva, which is an outbuilding in front of the great temple, than thunder from heaven fell upon them; two vast fragments from the mountain rolled down with prodigious noise, and killed many: a voice of warlike acclamation issued from within the walls. Dismay seized the Persian troops. The Delphians then, rushing from the cavern, and descending from the summits, attacked them and made great slaughter. The survivors fled precipitately into Bœotia.

From this story it is not difficult to detach the preternatural machinery, and we find an account remaining neither improbable nor very defective. The priests, unwilling to trust the treasures to others, and anxious for the credit of their oracle, which could scarcely but suffer should the place fall into the hands of foreign plunderers, determined upon a bold measure, which they executed with equal courage and prudence. A clear and firm response from the oracle first inspired the citizens with confidence. Then the best refuge that Greece afforded was provided for their families. The ablest and most trusty men were reserved for the defence of the place. If the mode of defence was uncommon, it appears however to have been perfectly adapted to the situation and circumstances, which were also very uncommon. Surrounded and almost overhung by very lofty mountain-summits, the site itself of the city was composed of crags and precipices. No way led to it but through mountain-defiles narrow and steep; shadowed with wood, and commanded at every step by fast-

nesses

Strabo, l. ix.  
p. 416 & seq.  
Pausan, l. x.  
c. 6 & seq.  
Justin, l. xxiv.  
c. 6.  
Wheler, b. iv.  
Chandler,  
c. 65.

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nesses above; and the approach from Bæotia was of considerable length through such defiles. Every measure seems to have been taken to make the enemy believe that the place was totally abandoned, and to induce them to advance in all the carelessness of perfect security. The surprize appears in consequence to have been complete. A thunderstorm at midsummer among the mountains was likely to be an accidental assistant. The rolling down of the rocky fragments might appear miraculous to those who did not know that numbers of men, concealed among the crags, were prepared to give them motion. Possibly artificial fires and explosions might imitate a thunderstorm and increase the horror\*. The Delphians then attacked with every advantage. The small remainder of the Persian detachment who reached the plains of Bæotia, readily adopted the reports of superstition to excuse their surprize and flight. Two persons, they said, superior in their appearance to anything human, joined the Delphians in the pursuit and slaughter. The Delphians affirmed that these could be no other than Phylacus and Autonus, ancient heroes of their country, to whom temples stood, in Herodotus's time, near the chapel of Minerva. The fragments of rock thrown down from the summits of Parnassus were preserved within the chapel, as memorials of the divine protection afforded upon that pressing emergency.

## SECTION V.

*Unsteady Counsels of the Grecian Confederacy. The Athenians, deserted by the Peloponnesians, remove their families from Attica. Aristides. Themistocles. Athens taken by the Persians. Artemisia. Ancient manner of Naval Action. Battle of Salamis. Return of Xerxes into Asia.*

WHILE any hope remained of defending the pass of mount Cæta, the Athenian fleet was of the utmost consequence to the con-

\* See Dutens' Inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns, c. v. sect. 207.

federated

federated Peloponnesians. Without its assistance every part of their coast would be open to the enemy's navy. The safety of Attica therefore was the first object in the plan of operations. It was resolved that, in case the enemy should penetrate across the mountains, the whole force of the confederacy should meet them in Bœotia and oppose their farther progress. But the usual dilatoriness of confederacies recurred. The Peloponnesian troops were yet within their several states, when the news arrived of the death of the Spartan king with his little band of self-devoted comrades, and of the retreat of the rest of his army. Then all hastened to the Corinthian isthmus, where Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, took the command. But the vehemence of the alarm, which spread on all sides, now set selfish counsels again afloat. Shortsighted through fear, the Peloponnesians determined not to risk anything for the preservation of Attica, but to contract their defence to their own peninsula. Their first business was to occupy, as an advanced post, the difficult passage of the Scironian rocks; another Thermopylæ, by which was the only road immediately from Attica into Peloponnesus. Then with earnest diligence they set to form strong lines across the isthmus. The people assembled there were the Lacedæmonians, all the Arcadians, the Eleians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Træzæniens, Hermionians. 'These,' says Herodotus, 'met in arms at the isthmus in deepest anxiety for the fate of Greece. The other Peloponnesians were careless of the event, or rather, if I may speak freely, they were disposed to the party of the enemy.'

The fleet, in its hasty retreat from Artemisium, had made no stop till it arrived in the bay of Salamis on the Attic coast. There information came to the Athenians that no force was assembled in Bœotia; that the Peloponnesians had resolved to confine their defence to their own peninsula; that they had begun their measures for that purpose; that Attica thus was abandoned to destruction. The alarm was extreme. All that could be obtained from their allies

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Herod. l. viii.  
c. 49.l. viii. c. 71.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 15.  
Plutarch.  
Themist.Herod. l. viii.  
c. 72.

l. viii. c. 49.

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allies was the assistance of the fleet to transport their families and effects to Salamis, Ægina, and Træzene: places less exposed than Athens, but which expected only a delay of ruin. Nor were the Athenians now, like the Greeks of old, practised in wandering, and ready for migration. In proportion to the established security of property, and the peace of domestic life, the distress of families was great. At the awful moment of abandoning their country a thousand anxious thoughts crowded upon every mind. In such excess of public misfortune administration commonly loses its powers: the people, as in a shipwreck, become ungovernable through despair. All the wisdom, all the firmness, all the popularity of the ablest statesmen were now wanted at Athens to preserve order, and to enforce those measures which political prudence required. But one of the wisest and most virtuous citizens that any country ever boasted was at this time in banishment. Democratic jealousy, or rather perhaps the ingenuity of ambitious individuals to make popular passion serve their private purposes, had invented a peculiar mode of repressing the dangerous superiority which great abilities might acquire in a republic. An assembly of the people, by what was called Ostracism, voted an illustrious citizen into banishment for ten years: alledging no crime, meaning no punishment, but only guarding against the overbearing influence of individuals: the exile's property and his honor remained unhurt. Aristides had been thus banished; it is said, through the management of Themistocles: for Aristides inclined to the aristocratical party; opposing that increase of power to the popular assembly which it suited the ambition of Themistocles to promote. But in this tremendous crisis of the commonwealth the name of the just Aristides began to be mentioned among the people; and it became evident that his absence was very generally regretted. Themistocles, whose capacious mind was never by views of faction blinded to greater interests, caught at the opportunity of popularity, and had the magnanimity himself to propose a decree which would enable his rival to return. Cimon, son of the great Miltiades, is said also to have

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 79.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid. &  
Themistoc.

Plutarch.  
Cimon.



have distinguished himself upon this trying occasion. Being by inheritance from a long line of ancestors one of the principal landed men of the Athenian commonwealth, he would not naturally be forward to abandon his country. But when proclamation was made that all should forthwith remove their families and effects out of Attica, and that every man capable of bearing arms should then immediately repair to his duty aboard the fleet, Cimon, at the head of a band of the principal youths of Athens, marched in procession through the most public parts of the city to the temple of Minerva in the citadel. In their hands they carried their bridles (the ensigns of that military service to which their birth and possessions had destined them) and, with solemn rites, dedicated these to the goddess. Then, arming themselves, the whole party set off for the fleet at Salamis; not a little encouraging the admiring citizens by this demonstration of confidence in the gods, and alacrity in devoting themselves to that new service which the present crisis of their country required. Nor were the advantages to be derived from popular superstition neglected. It was believed from ancient times in Athens that a large serpent was a divine guard to the temple of Minerva in the citadel, and it was an established practice to place cakes as an offering to this reptile every new moon. The chief priest of the temple declared that the cakes, which hitherto never failed to be eaten by the divine serpent, now remained untouched: proof that the goddess herself had forsaken the citadel. This, says the cotemporary historian, whatever truth was in it, not a little contributed to induce the Athenians readily and quietly to quit the city.

The general business of the confederacy was not conducted either with equal wisdom or equal spirit. The want of one supreme authority was again felt. The measures of the land-forces were determined by the assembly at Corinth, of which the officers commanding the troops of the several states were principal members: those of the fleet seem not to have been taken into the consideration, but remained for the commanders of the several squadrons to decide. A council of those commanders was held for the purpose. The great question was,

F f f

Where

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 41.  
Plutarch.  
Themistoc.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 49 & 74.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 15.  
Plutarch.  
Themistoc.

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Where they should now wait the attack of that fleet from which they had been flying? Fear prevailed, and the majority were for retreating to the Corinthian isthmus; because there it was urged, if they should be defeated, which seems to have been expected, tho the ships were lost, the crews might escape ashore, and still assist by land in the defence of their country.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 50 & seq.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 14.

The Persian army meanwhile, advancing from Thebes, burnt the abandoned towns of Thespiæ and Plataea; and, entering Attica, found no resistance till they arrived at the citadel of Athens. This was still held by some ministers of the temple of Minerva, some of the poorer citizens unable to support the expence of migration, and a few others obstinately addicted to that interpretation of the Delphian oracle which supposed it to declare that the citadel should remain inexpugnable. The city was delivered to those Athenians of the Peisistratid party who accompanied the Persian army. The citadel was immediately invested. Terms were offered to the besieged by the Peisistratids, and obstinately refused. After a resistance beyond expectation, the place was taken by assault, and all within put to the sword.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 56 & seq.

Intelligence of this event, if we may credit the probable detail of Herodotus, came to the fleet while a council of war was sitting. It occasioned such alarm that some of the commanders of squadrons, without waiting for a decision of the question before them, hastened aboard their galleys and prepared for immediate flight. The rest, less panic-struck, were still for the most part of opinion that the proposed retreat to the isthmus should be executed without delay. Night came on, and all was confusion. Nothing can be more consonant to the common character of those little circumstances which often decide the greatest events, than what the historian proceeds to relate. Themistocles, returning to his galley, was met by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian officer his particular friend, who anxiously asked what was the determination of the council? ‘To retreat instantly,’ said Themistocles. ‘Then,’ replied Mnesiphilus, ‘Greece is lost! For  
‘neither

‘neither the present commander in chief, nor any other man will have influence to keep the fleet together. All will disperse to their several homes; and, through the folly of her chiefs, Greece is enslaved for ever!—Is there no possibility of persuading Eurybiades to wiser measures?’ Touched by his friend’s earnestness in delivering an opinion perfectly coinciding with his own, the active mind of Themistocles could not rest. Returning immediately to Eurybiades, he prevailed to have another council hastily summoned. Naturally vehement in his temper, Themistocles was forward and copious in discourse upon the subject for the consideration of which the council met, before it was regularly proposed by the commander in chief. The Corinthian commander, Adeimantus, who was as warmly for different measures, interrupting him, said, ‘Themistocles, those who at the games rise before their time are corrected with stripes.’ To so affronting a reprimand the Athenian chief, with admirable command of himself, calmly replied, ‘True, Adeimantus, but those who neglect to engage in the contest never win the crown\*.’ Then in the course of the debate he urged the importance of preserving Salamis, Ægina, and Megara, which upon the retreat of the fleet must immediately fall; the advantage of the present station, a confined bay, which would render both the numbers and the superior swiftness of the enemy’s galleys useless; and the total want of such advantage in any station that could be taken near the Corinthian isthmus. When all this proved ineffectual he concluded with declaring, ‘That if so little regard was shown to the Athenian people, who had risked every thing in the Grecian cause, their fleet would immediately withdraw from the confederacy, and either make terms with the enemy, or seek some distant settlement for a people so unworthily treated.’ Eurybiades, alarmed, bent to this argument: a majority of the other commanders either felt its force, or were de-

\* Later writers, to make a better story, instead of Adeimantus, name Eurybiades, and add that he shook his cane over the head of Themistocles, who calmly said, ‘Strike, but

‘hear me.’ Plutarch, through an inattention not unusual with him, has in his *Life of Themistocles* attributed the reprimand to Eurybiades, in his *Apophthegms* to Adeimantus.

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Herod. l. viii.  
c. 66 & seq.

cided by the Spartan admiral; and it was determined to expect the enemy in the bay of Salamis.

The Persian fleet had remained three days in the road of Artemisium to refresh the crews after their sufferings by storms and engagements. Three days then brought them through the Euripus to Phalerus, at that time the principal port of Athens. Herodotus supposes the Persian numbers by sea and land not less than on their first arrival at Sepias and Therinopylæ. For by land they were reinforced by the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bæotians. Their fleet was increased with galleys from Andros, Tenos, Eubœa, and other islands. The recruits to the land-forces might easily supply the loss by battle; but those to the fleet would scarcely balance the damage by storms, which seems to have been very much greater than any hitherto suffered by engagements. The fleet and army being again met, a council of naval commanders was summoned to consider whether the Grecian fleet should be attacked in its present station. It is difficult to determine how far credit may be due to Herodotus's account of a Grecian heroine in the Persian fleet; who is yet so mentioned in all histories of these times that she must not be passed unnoticed. It was Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, a Halicarnassian, by a Cretan lady. Her husband had been tyrant of Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus, and he had extended his command over the neighbouring islands Cos, Nisyrus, Calydna. On his death Artemisia succeeded to his authority. When the orders of the Persian court came to the Asian Greeks to prepare forces for the European expedition, she fitted out five galleys, which were allowed to be superior to any of that vast armament, except the Sidonian; and she formed the extraordinary resolution of undertaking herself the command of this little squadron. On joining the fleet in the Hellespont she was regularly admitted to her seat in all councils of war; and she acquired in a high degree the esteem of the Persian monarch. At the council held off Phalerus, she alone dissuaded the proposed attack of the Grecian fleet. 'Offensive measures,' she said, 'should be prosecuted only by land. There the superiority

l. viii. c. 67  
& seq.

riority was decided, and operations more certain. The fleet should be reserved as an indispensable attendant upon so immense an army, which could not fail to suffer extremely if by any misfortune it should lose the means of supplies by sea. ‘ Besides,’ she added, ‘ the Greeks cannot long hold their present advantageous situation; for, if I am rightly informed, they have no magazines on the island which they occupy, and the main is already yours. Wait therefore only a little: you will see them disperse of themselves, and all Greece will be open to you.’ This wise advice was overruled, and it was determined to attack the Grecian fleet next morning.

The Grecian commanders meanwhile were far from being all heartily disposed to the measure resolved on. Eurybiades appears to have been not a man of great abilities: his authority therefore as commander in chief over forces from various independent states was very uncertain. Themistocles was still fearful of the defection of some of the squadrons; and, to insure what in his judgement was necessary for the common good, he is reported to have taken a very extraordinary step. He sent a trusty person to the Persian fleet with orders to say that he came from the Athenian admiral, who was desirous of revolting to the Persians; that he was therefore to give an account of the dissensions among the Grecian commanders, and of the measures that were likely to follow: adding, that if the present opportunity for destroying the whole Grecian fleet together should be neglected, such another would never be found. That very night the Persians moved and formed a semicircle from the point of Salamis to the port of Munychia: the Egyptian squadron was detached to block the western passage; and a force was landed upon the little island Psytaleia between Salamis and the ports of Athens, to assist any of the Persian vessels, and seize any of the Grecian that might be driven upon it. For the same purpose the Attic shore, to a considerable extent, was lined with troops: the whole multitude of the army being at the same time in motion; those whom no duty required going urged by curiosity to take their stand on the adjacent heights.

The

Æschyl. *Perf.*  
p. 140. ed H.  
Steph.  
Herod. l. viii.  
c. 75.  
Diodor. *Sic.*  
l. xi. c. 17.  
Plutarch.  
Themist. &  
Aristid.

Diodor. *Sic.*  
l. xi. c. 17.  
Æschyl. *Perf.*  
p. 141 & 145.  
Herod. l. viii.  
c. 76.  
Plutarch.  
Themistoc. &  
Aristid.

CHAP. IX. The most commodious eminence was chosen for the monarch himself  
 SECT. V. to view at leisure the action to issue.

Hærod. l. viii.  
 c. 79 & seq.  
 Plutarch.  
 Themistoc. &  
 Aristid.

While these preparations were making by the Persians, Aristides, escaping under favor of the night through the middle of their fleet, arrived at Salamis from Ægina. Aristides wanted not magnanimity upon this great occasion to lay aside both private animosity and the animosity of faction. He went directly to Themistocles, his rival and political enemy, informed him of what he had seen, and offered his assistance for anything useful to his country. Themistocles (who, with a character of far less disinterestedness, could yet equally command his passions, and well knew the value of such assistance) joyfully accepting the offer, requested that Aristides would accompany him to the council of war then sitting, and deliver his information in person; which he said would have much more weight than anything that could be repeated by himself, accustomed as he had been to combat the military and political opinions of most of the Grecian commanders. Aristides immediately complied. He had scarcely delivered his intelligence when a confirmation of it came by a captain of a trireme galley of the island of Tenos, who had deserted from the enemy. Then at last, pressed by necessity, the commanders with one voice declared a determination to exert themselves in action.

Among the ancients, for a naval engagement, a small space sufficed in comparison of what modern fleets require; not only because of the smaller size of their vessels, but still more because of the different manner of working and fighting them. Our ships of war, very deep as well as large, and deriving motion only from the wind, with deep and open seas want large intervals also between ship and ship. The ancient galleys on the contrary, always light however large, and in action worked by their oars alone, could form and move in very close order, and were not afraid of narrow seas. From their mode of engagement also they required comparatively little space. Our ships, whose artillery decides their battles, must bring their broadsides to bear upon the enemy; avoiding as much as possible to expose themselves

selves in any other direction. They engaged therefore, according to the sea-phrases, close-hauled to the wind, and with the line of battle formed ahead. But the ancients, whose principal weapon was a strong beak of brass or iron projecting from the stem of the galley, advanced to the attack always with the line of battle formed abreast. The greatest advantage one galley could obtain over another was to bring its head to bear directly upon the enemy's broadside; the next to gain the means of an oblique impulse which might dash away some of his oars. By the success of the former attempt a galley was often sunk; by that of the other it became unmanageable till the lost or damaged oars could be replaced; and this gave opportunity for the more decisive attack with the beak. Hence the importance of oars in action: by them alone attacks could be made, warded, or avoided in every direction. Missile weapons of various kinds were used; but except when the attack of the beak was very successful, an engagement seldom concluded without boarding.

Since the retreat from Artemisium the Grecian fleet had been very considerably reinforced. The Lacedæmonians had added six triremes to their former ten: the Athenian squadron was increased to a hundred and eighty: some had been gained from other states: a few from the islands: and the total number of triremes was now three hundred and eighty. The triremes of the Persian fleet are generally said to have been about twelve hundred: according to Herodotus they were above thirteen hundred\*. If exaggeration may be suspected even in the lowest of these computations, it is yet little reasonably to be doubted but the fleet under Xerxes, however inferior in the size and quality of the vessels, exceeded, in the number of men which it bore, any naval armament ever assembled in the world.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 43 & seq.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 82.

Isocrat. Panegy. p. 226.  
t. i. ed. Auger.

Herodot. l. vii.  
c. 89 & 184,  
185, & l. viii.  
c. 66.

\* The passage of Æschylus which mentions the number of the Persian galleys, both as it stands in all the editions of his works and in Plutarch's life of Themistocles, seems clearly enough in itself to say that they were in all but a thousand; yet the commentators and translators have been generally desirous of straining it to mean that, to make the total, the two

hundred and seven, which the poet mentions as the swiftest of the fleet, should be added to the thousand. See Stanley's note. According to Æschylus the Grecian triremes were only three hundred. It is not impossible but Herodotus might have collected more accurate information of the numbers furnished by the several states.

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Confident therefore in their strength, and urged by the common necessity of invaders to push vigorous measures, the Persians were impatient for decision. Accident seems to have made the Greeks at last the assailants; and thus perhaps contributed not a little to the greatness of their success. By daybreak they had formed their fleet in order of battle. The Athenians on the right were opposed to the Phenician squadron; the Lacedæmonians on the left to the Ionian. As the sun rose trumpets sounded, pæans were sung, and the Grecian leaders endeavoured by all means to restore that animation among their people which their own divided and hesitating counsels had so tended to deaden. Presently a trireme galley, which had been sent on some business to Ægina, endeavouring to pass the enemy's line, was attacked. An Athenian galley commanded by Ameinias, brother of the poet Æschylus, advanced to her rescue: others followed: then the Æginetans moved, and the battle soon became general. The onset was vigorous on both sides. But space did not suffice for the Persians to bring their whole fleet regularly into action, nor for the Phenicians in particular to profit from the superior swiftness of their galleys, and skill of their seamen. The Athenians and Æginetans therefore, after a sharp contest, broke the part of the Persian line first engaged. Numbers of galleys yet out of action pressed to its support. Among the various nations who composed the Persian fleet, commanded in chief by Persian officers little versed in naval business, while the vast army which lined the Attic shore with the sovereign of the East at its head, were witnesses of the scene, zeal itself contributed to disorder. Damage and loss of oars and wounds in the hull from the beaks of their own galleys infused; while the Athenians and Æginetans, forgetting their late enmity, or remembering it only as an incentive to generous emulation, with the most animated exertion preserved the most steady discipline. Shortly the sea itself became scarcely visible from the quantity of wreck and floating bodies which covered

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 85.  
Æschyl. Pers.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 84.  
Æschyl. Pers.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 27.



covered it. Such is the strong expression of the poet who himself fought in the Athenian squadron. In the mean time the business was easier to the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks in the left wing. Some of the Ionian officers were zealously inclined to the confederates: tho others on the contrary exerted themselves to earn the favor of the monarch whom they served. The confusion however arising from various causes in the Persian fleet spread, and rapidly became general and extreme. All their galleys which could disengage themselves fled. Some were taken: many were sunk; and numbers of their crews, inland men, unpractised in swimming, were drowned. Among those who perished were very many of high rank, who had been forward to distinguish themselves in this new species of war under their monarch's eye. According to Herodotus, Ariabignes, brother of Xerxes, and admiral of the fleet, was among the killed; but he is not mentioned by Æschylus. Forty Grecian galleys are said to have been sunk or otherwise destroyed; but the crews mostly saved themselves aboard other ships, or on the neighbouring friendly shore of Salamis. When the rout was become total, Aristides landing on Pitytaicia at the head of a body of Athenians, put all the Persians there to the sword; under the very eye of Xerxes, who, with his immense army around him, could afford them no assistance.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 89.

Diodor. Sic.  
l. xii. c. 19.

Æschyl. Pers.  
Herod. l. viii.  
c. 95.  
Plut. Aristid.

In considering Herodotus's account of this celebrated sea-fight, we find not less reason than on former occasions to praise his scrupulous honesty and modesty. His narrative is dubious and incomplete, as all faithful narratives of great battles must be, unless some eyewitness very peculiarly qualified by knowledge and situation be the relater. We cannot therefore but regret, not indeed that Æschylus was a poet, but that prose-writing was yet in his age so little common that his poetical sketch of this great transaction is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent of any that passed to posterity. Concerning a day, however, so glorious, so singularly interesting to Greece, and particularly to Athens, anecdotes would undoubtedly abound; and a historian a few years only later, desirous to shine in

CHAP. IX.  
SECT. V.Herod. l. viii.  
c. 87, 88 & 93.

description rather than to relate the truth, could not have wanted for materials. Anecdotes indeed of particular circumstances in great battles may often be authenticated; and to these Herodotus has chiefly confined himself; avoiding a detail of the battle at large, with an express declaration that he could obtain none upon which he could rely. But among his anecdotes, one is too remarkable and too celebrated to be omitted. The queen of Halicarnassus, after showing extraordinary bravery during the action, being among the last who fled, was closely pursued by the Athenian galley which Ameinias commanded. In this extremity, at a loss for other refuge, she suddenly turned against the nearest galley of the Persian fleet, which happened to be that of Damasthymus king of Calynda in Lycia, with whom she is said to have been upon terms not of perfect friendship; and, taking him totally unprepared for such an attempt, the stroke of the beak of her galley against the side of his was so violent and so well aimed, that the Calyndian prince instantly sunk with his crew. Ameinias, hastily concluding from this action that Artemisia's galley was either one of the confederate fleet, or one that had deserted to them, turned his pursuit toward other vessels, and the queen of Halicarnassus escaped. According to Herodotus, tho upon this occasion we shall have difficulty to give him intire credit, Xerxes, from the shore where he sat, saw, admired, and applauded the exploit.

It is indeed impossible here not to wish for those Persian histories of these great events which probably once existed, and which a learned orientalist of our own country \* would flatter us with the hope of still recovering: but most we wish for them when the Persian counsels become particularly interesting, of which the Grecian historian has undertaken to give a detail that could not come to him duly authenticated. Not that an author under a despotic monarchy, who often must not publish what he knows or believes, and sometimes may not dare even to inquire, could be put in any general competition with a republican writer, who not only may inquire everywhere and speak everything, but actually manifests his free impartiality by

\* Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &amp;c. of the Eastern Nations.

relating

relating continually, with the severity of a reproving friend, the disgraces of his fellowcountrymen, while he is often liberal of eulogy to their enemies. We might however possibly draw, even from the flatterer of a despot, some information of which the total wreck of Persian literature has deprived us. Yet the Greeks were not without considerable means of information often even of the intrigues of the Persian court. The eunuchs of the palace, the persons perhaps most intimate about the monarch (for according to Xenophon even the great Cyrus preferred eunuchs for his confidants), were of any nation rather than Persian. Some of them were Greeks; at least born among the Greeks, tho mostly perhaps of foreign origin as of servile condition. Herodotus mentions a Greek of Chios who acquired great wealth by the infamous traffic of castrated boys. One of these, Hermotimus, born at Pedasa in the territory of Halicarnassus, was in high favor with Xerxes, attended him into Greece, and, both before and after that expedition, was employed in affairs in Asia Minor which would lead him to communication with the principal Greeks of that country. Refugee Greeks moreover, from the various republics, continually swarmed about the courts of the Persian satraps, and even of the monarch himself; so that, tho the speeches which Herodotus puts into the mouths of Persian cabinet-counsellors must be as fictitious as those which Livy attributes to his fellowcountrymen at the head of armies, yet large means were certainly open for Greeks of rank and character to know the manners of the Persian great, and even to pry into the politics of the empire, as far perhaps as the Persians themselves: for under a despotic government the counsels which direct the greatest affairs are generally open to very few.

Xenoph. Cy-  
ropæd. l. vii.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 104, 105,  
106.

After the battle of Salamis, however, the transactions of public notoriety bespeak in a great degree the counsels that directed them. The defeat of the fleet necessarily deranged the measures of the Persian commanders. No port was near, capable of protecting its shattered and disheartened, but still large remains. Phalerus, then the principal harbour of Athens, could not contain half its numbers. A hasty

## CHAP. IX.

## SECT. V.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 107.  
l. vii. c. 96, &  
108.

Æschyl. Pers.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 100.

l. viii. c. 115.

Æschyl. Pers.

of the very night after the engagement directed it to go immediately for the Hellespont. Day broke, and the Greeks, who expected a renewal of the action, looked in vain for an enemy. Quick determination of new measures was then necessary for the army; which having no sufficient magazines provided in the country, was, by the departure of the fleet, reduced, with its attending multitudes, to immediate danger of starving. In a few days it fell back into the rich and friendly province of Eorotia, and thence shortly into Thessaly.

Probably the punishment of Athens, with the submission of so many other provinces, were held sufficient, if not to satisfy the monarch's hopes of glory, yet to prevent the imputation of disgrace, and perhaps even to form some shadowy claim to honor. The defeat of the fleet would be of course attributed to the faults of the immediate commanders, and to the defects and inferiority to be expected in an armament not properly Persian, but composed almost intirely of the conquered subjects of the empire. The spoil of Athens, and among it the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were sent as trophies to mark to the interior provinces the exploits of that prodigious armament which had so diminished their population and exhausted their wealth. The affairs of the empire might require the presence of the prince. The conquered countries were not yet so far settled that it could be particularly agreeable to a young monarch, by education and by disposition probably not much either a warrior or a man of business, to pass the winter among them. Xerxes was therefore to return into Asia. From the whole army three hundred thousand men were chosen to remain under the command of Mardonius for the completion of the conquest of Greece in the following summer. The rejected multitude were to return with all haste into Asia; urged by the prospect of famine, and the apprehension that the approach of winter might totally bar the passage of the mountains and rivers of Macedonia and Thrace. Of the three hundred thousand selected by Mardonius, sixty thousand were to march as a guard of the royal person as far as the Hellespont. These were perhaps,

haps, among the innumerable crowd of various nations and languages who attended, or endeavoured to attend the monarch's retreat, those who alone deserved the name of soldiers. Of these, as of soldiers forming a guard necessary to the prince's dignity and even to his safety, some care was probably taken. The rest suffered beyond description, from the haste of the march and an almost total want of magazines: for the invasion only had been considered; the retreat was unprovided for. The disorderly multitude therefore lived by rapine, from friends equally and from foes; but all was insufficient. Other sustenance failing, they ate the very grass from the ground, and the bark and even leaves from the trees; and, as the historian with emphatical simplicity says, 'they left nothing.' Dysenteries and pestilential fevers seized whom famine spared. Numbers were left sick in the towns of Thessaly, Pæonia, Macedonia, and Thrace, with arbitrary orders little likely to be diligently obeyed, that support and attendance should be provided for them. On the forty-fifth day from the commencement of his march in Thessaly, Xerxes reached the Hellespont; with an attendance which, compared with the prodigious numbers a few months before under his command there, might be called nothing\*. The bridges were already destroyed by storms and the violence of the current: but the fleet was arrived†. Artabazus immediately marched his detachment back toward Macedonia. The monarch proceeded to Sardis.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 126.

\* — ἀπάγων τῆς στρατῆς οὐδὲν μένος ὡς ἔπαισι.  
Herodot. l. viii. c. 115.

† Herodotus is not among the reputable fablers who report that Xerxes in his retreat, without an army, without a fleet, and almost without an attendant, crossed the Hellespont in a cock-boat. He tells indeed another story,

not perhaps wholly undeserving attention, as a specimen of tales circulated in Greece concerning these extraordinary transactions; tho the historian himself expressly declares that he did not believe it. The curious may find it in the 118th and 119th chapters of his viiiith book.

## CHAPTER X.

The History of GREECE from the Battle of SALAMIS to the Conclusion of the PERSIAN Invasion.

## SECTION I.

*Return of the Athenians to their Country. Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Dedications to the Gods for the Victory at Salamis. Honors paid to Themistocles. Revolt of Chalcidice from the Persians. Siege of Potidæa by Artabazus.*

CHAP. X.  
SECT. I.

THE various affections of Grecian minds after so glorious, so important, so unexpected a victory as that of Salamis, and the consequent hasty retreat of that numberless army, the means of resistance to which seemed beyond human calculation, may in some degree be conceived, but can scarcely in any degree be described. It does not appear that the Peisistratid Athenians, or any Persian garri-son remained in Athens. That city, and its whole territory seem to have been recovered by their late possessors without a struggle. The measures next to be taken by the fleet were subject of much debate. It was proposed to pursue the Persians to the Hellespont, and at once crush the naval power of the empire, which would render its gigantic land-force less formidable to a country scarcely to be successfully invaded without a coöperating fleet. This was overruled. But the most powerful naval armament that Greece had ever yet assembled, flushed with unhopèd-for success, would not immediately rest. Many of the islanders were obnoxious for their forwardness in the Persian cause. It was determined to exact a fine from them to be applied to the expences of the war. Themistocles, whose great qualities were sullied by a sordid attention to his private interest, is said on this occasion to have filled his own coffers through the influence

• which

Herodot.  
I. viii. c. 108.

I. viii. c. 3, &  
seq.

which his high command and high reputation procured to him. The Parians, we are told, avoided all public payment through a bribe to the Athenian commander. The Andrians alone, of the islanders on the European side of the *Ægean*, resolutely refused to pay anything. Siege was in consequence laid to their principal town, but without effect; and the fleet returned to Salamis.

Winter now approached, with a political calm which for a long time had been little expected by the confederate Greeks. Gratitude to the gods for the great deliverance obtained was among the first emotions of the public mind. It was usual after a victory, to select some of the most valuable articles of the spoil to be offered by the name of *Acrothinia*, first-fruits, to the supposed propitious deities. On the present occasion three Phenician trireme galleys were first chosen. One was dedicated in Salamis to the hero *Ajax*; another at the promontory *Sunium*, probably to *Minerva* \*; and the third at the Corinthian isthmus to *Neptune* \*. Other offerings required more preparation. A statue twelve cubits high, holding in one hand a galley's prow, was dedicated to *Apollo* at *Delphi*. The oracle there demanded a particular acknowledgement from the *Æginetans*; because, it said, in the glorious contest of *Salamis*, they had excelled all the other Greeks. Those islanders gladly received the honorable testimony, and sent to *Delphi* a brazen mast, adorned with three stars of gold. These public dedications being made or decreed, the remaining booty was divided. The fleet then proceeded to the isthmus, where another ceremony, of established practice among the Greeks, remained to be performed. It was to be decided to whom the first and second honors were due for behavior in the war †. The chiefs delivered their opinion in writing upon the altar of *Neptune*. Every

Herodot.  
l. viii. c. 122.

c. 122.

\* *Minerva* and *Neptune* are not mentioned by the historian; but the conjecture seems little hazardous. The ruins of the temple of the *Suniad Minerva* remain on the promontory to this day; and *Neptune* was not only the tutelary deity of the Isthmian games, but esteemed in some degree proprietary of the

isthmus, and a statue we find was erected to him there upon occasion of the subsequent victory of *Platæa*. See *Herodot.* b. ix. c. § 1.

† ——— ἀριστεία δώσαντες τῷ ἀξιοτάτῳ ἡρώμην Ἑλλάνων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεμον τούτων. ——— τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς δεύτεροις κτίνοισι ἐκ πάντων. *Herodot.* l. viii. c. 123.

## CHAP. X.

## SECT. I.

one gave the first vote for himself; but a large majority of the second appeared for Themistocles. Thus it remained undecided to whom the first honors should be paid; and the squadrons separated to their several states; but the general voice of the people founded the fame of Themistocles far beyond all others. Unsatisfied however with such vague applause, and disappointed of the degree of distinction which his ambition affected, Themistocles went to Lacedæmon, probably knowing that he should be well received. The Spartan government there took upon itself to decide the claims of merit. It would have been invidious to have refused the *Aristeia*, or first honors for bravery and general conduct, to their own admiral who had commanded in chief; but, a new and singular compliment was invented for the Athenian commander: they adjudged to him the prize of wisdom and maritime skill. Eurybiades and Themistocles therefore together received from the Lacedæmonian commonwealth the honorable reward of olive crowns. Themistocles was besides presented with a chariot; and, at his departure from Lacedæmon, three hundred Spartans of rank \* escorted him to the frontier; a kind of honor never, to the time of Herodotus, paid to any other stranger †.

The news of the victory of the Greeks at Salamis, and of the consequent retreat of Xerxes into Asia, was quickly conveyed through all the Grecian settlements in uncertain rumors, here exaggerated, there deficient, according to the information, the temper, the interest, the memory, or, sometimes, the invention of the individuals who communicated it, where public and certain means of extensive communication were little known. But the Greeks of the Thracian colonies, who had seen with trembling the proud march of the immense host of Persia toward Greece, were also eyewitnesses of the

\* *Σταθμικῶν ὀψάδων, ὡς τοὶ ὅμιλοι ἱκανῶς κατέσταν.* Herodot. l. viii. c. 124.

† Plutarch adds a pompous account of the reception of Themistocles at the Olympic games, of which we find nothing in Herodotus, and Plutarch has totally forgot to reconcile it

with chronology. According to every account, the action at Thermopylæ nearly coincided with the Olympic meeting; and if anything like what Plutarch reports ever really passed, it must have been four years after, at the next Olympic meeting.



miserable reverse, when the monarch precipitated his retreat into Asia. Their information was however probably little exact concerning the force yet left hovering over their mother-country, and their knowledge of the resources of the Persian empire generally very imperfect. According therefore to the common nature of that tide of the human mind which operates generally much more forcibly upon the determinations of a multitude than of an individual, the fruitful province of Chalcidice, on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia, boldly revolted from the Persian dominion, each little town asserting its beloved independency. Meanwhile Artabazus, having seen his sovereign safe on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, hastened back with his detachment, itself a large army, to rejoin Mardonius. But as the quarters of Thrace and Macedonia were already crowded, he halted in Chalcidice. He received with indignation intelligence of the revolt, and thought, not unreasonably, that he should scarcely escape censure if he suffered the winter to pass without punishing it. Immediately he laid siege to Olynthus and Potidæa. Olynthus was presently taken; and, if we may believe Herodotus, the inhabitants, being conducted to a neighbouring marsh, were there all massacred. The town, which had been occupied by a colony from Bottiæa on the Macedonian coast, was given to native Chalcidians; and according to that common policy of the Persians which we have heretofore remarked, the government was intrusted to Critobulus, a Greek of the town of Torone in the neighbouring peninsula of Sithonia.

The affairs of Thermopylæ and Salamis had however had a quick effect in diminishing the extreme dread before entertained of the Persian power, and in promoting a general emulation in arms and in the spirit of independency among the Greeks. The Potidæans, whose situation commanded the neck of the fruitful and rebellious peninsula of Pallene, defended themselves so vigorously that little progress was made in the siege. But the wealth of Persia, continually brought forward to supply the deficiency of military science and discipline,

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 126 & seq.

CHAP. X.

SECT. I.

Herodot.  
I. viii. c. 128.

created a weight in the balance of war, against which the Greeks with difficulty found a counterpoise. Timoxeinus, commander of the Scionæan auxiliaries in Potidæa, was bribed to a treasonable correspondence with the Persian general. They communicated by means of letters wrapt round arrows which were shot to spots agreed upon. The accidental wounding of a Potidæan by one of these arrows, however, discovered the treason before it had gone to any pernicious length. A crowd immediately gathered about the wounded man; and, on extracting the arrow, a letter from Artabazus to Timoxeinus was found upon it. Three months had now been consumed in the siege, and little progress made, when the tide, to which many of the recesses of the Ægean sea are subject, flowing to an unusual height, flooded the Persian camp †. The circumstance was not only alarming, but very effectually distressing, in a winter-campaign, to soldiers bred in a warmer climate. Immediately therefore upon the ebb the general ordered the army to march, meaning to take a station on higher ground within the peninsula of Pallene. Not half the troops had passed the flats when the flood made again with increased violence. Many of the Persians were drowned. The Potidæans, observing their distress, sallied in boats and killed many. Artabazus found it necessary immediately to raise the siege, and he led the remains of his army into Thessaly.

## SECTION II.

*Preparations for the Campaign. Speeches of Alexander King of Macedonia, of the Lacedæmonian Ambassador, and of the Athenian Minister in the Athenian Assembly. The Athenians a second time quit Attica. Zeal of the Athenian People for the prosecution of the Persian War.*

Herod. I. viii.  
c. 130.  
Diodor. Sic.  
I. xi. c. 27.

THE Persian fleet, as soon as Xerxes was passed into Asia, quitting the Hellespont, had gone, part to Samos, part to Cuma, in whose

† See Herodotus, b. vii. c. 198, also note 48, p. 680, of Westling's edition.

ports it wintered. In the spring, the whole assembled at Samos. Mistrust of those conquered subjects of the empire who alone were mariners, induced those who directed the affairs of the navy to increase the proportion of native Medes and Persians among the crews. The fleet however remained at Samos, to awe the coasts of Asia and Thrace with the neighbouring islands, making no attempt westward.

Spring, says the historian, and the recollection that Mardonius was in Thessaly, awakened the Greeks. The assembling of the army was yet delayed, but a fleet of a hundred and twenty trireme galleys was collected at Ægina, under Leotychides king of Lacedæmon. Xanthippus the prosecutor of Miltiades, and, through his marriage with the daughter of Megacles, now chief of the Alcæonids, commanded the Athenian squadron. During the winter some of the leading men of Chios had conspired against Strattis, whom the Persians had appointed governor, or, in the Greek term, tyrant of their island. They were detected, but found means to fly, and they went to Ægina. Addressing themselves to the naval commanders there, they urged, That all Ionia was ripe for a revolt, and wanted only the countenance of the victorious fleet of Greece to make a powerful diversion for the Persian arms. They prevailed so far that the fleet moved eastward, as if to cross the Ægean; but, stopping at Delos, dread of engaging the might of Persia, at a distance from their own coasts and in seas less known to them, again predominated; so that, as the historian proceeds to observe, the space between Samos and Delos remained in peace through mutual fear.

Mardonius, meanwhile, had not neglected those measures which might promote the success of his arms by land. Sensible of the importance of naval coöperation, he resolved to attempt the detaching of the Athenians from the Grecian confederacy; justly thinking that, if this could be effected, the Persian fleet would immediately resume a decided superiority. Alexander king of Macedonia was judiciously chosen for his ambassador to the Athenian commonwealth. That

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 136, & seq.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 28.

CHAP. X.  
SECT. II.

prince was intimately connected both with the Grecian and Persian nations. His family boasted its descent from Hercules and Perseus through Temenus the Heracleid king of Argos. It had with the Athenian commonwealth the sacred connection of hereditary hospitality. Alexander himself had communicated with Athens in those revered offices of friendship. But his sister Gygæa was married to Bubares, a Persian high in rank and in command, son of that Megabazus who in the reign of Darius had conquered the western Thracians, and compelled Amyntas, father of Alexander, to the delivery of earth and water. Yet tho Alexander had constantly acted with the Persians, he had nevertheless, as far as his dependent situation would permit, always shown himself friendly to the confederate Greeks. He was well received at Athens. But as the news of his arrival would quickly be spread through Greece, and would probably excite jealousy among the confederates, especially the Lacedæmonians, the leaders of the Athenian administration judiciously deferred his public audience before the assembly of the people till ministers came from Sparta.

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 141.

Herodotus does not inform us who particularly, during these remarkable transactions, directed the measures of the Attic government; which both in wisdom and in magnanimity at least equal anything in the political history of mankind. Plutarch attributes all to Aristides. As early as possible after the arrival of the Lacedæmonian ministers, an assembly of the people was summoned. The Lacedæmonian ministers and the king of Macedonia were together admitted to this really public audience. Silence was proclaimed. Alexander rose; and, according to the original historian, spoke in this simple and antiquated but emphatical style of oratory: \* ‘ Athenians, thus saith Mardonius: “ The commands of the king are come to me, saying, I FOR-  
“ GIVE THE ATHENIANS ALL THEIR OFFENCES AGAINST ME. NOW  
“ THEREFORE, MARDONIUS, THUS DO: RESTORE TO THEM THEIR

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 140.

\* Testimony is also borne to this remarkable transaction by Demosthenes, 2d Philipp. Diodorus Sic. b. xi. c. 28. and Plutarch in Aristides.

" TERRITORY, AND ADD TO IT WHATSOEVER THEMSELVES SHALL  
 " CHUSE, LEAVING THEM TO THEIR OWN LAWS; AND, IF THEY  
 " WILL MAKE ALLIANCE WITH ME, REBUILD ALL THE TEMPLES  
 " WHICH HAVE BEEN BURNT. Such being the king's commands to  
 " me, so I must necessarily do unless you prevent. From myself I  
 " say to you thus: Why would you persevere in the folly of making  
 " war against the king? You cannot overcome him; you cannot  
 " long resist him. You know how numerous his armies are, and  
 " what they have effected. You are informed of the force under  
 " my command. Should you overcome me, which in reason you  
 " cannot hope, immediately a still greater force will be sent against  
 " you. As a friend I recommend to you not in the vain contest  
 " with the king to lose your country, but to seize the honorable op-  
 " portunity of this offer from the king himself for making peace. Be  
 " free; and let there be alliance between us without fraud or deceit."  
 ' These things, O Athenians, Mardonius commanded me to say to  
 ' you. For my own part I shall omit to enlarge upon the friendship  
 ' I bear you, since this is not the first occasion upon which you have  
 ' experienced it. I beg you to accept the terms proposed by Mar-  
 ' donius; for I well see the impossibility of your long contending  
 ' against the Persian empire. Upon no other consideration would I  
 ' have come to you thus commissioned. But the king's power is more  
 ' than human: his arm is of unmeasurable length. I dread the event  
 ' for you, if you refuse the great conditions now offered. The very  
 ' situation of your country should indeed admonish you: lying in  
 ' the road to the rest of the confederates, you alone are first exposed,  
 ' and actually bear all the brunt of the war. Comply therefore; for  
 ' it is not a little honorable to you that you only among the Greeks  
 ' are selected by that great king for offers of peace and friendship.'

The king of Macedonia concluded, and the chief of the Spartan  
 ministers rose: ' The Lacedæmonians,' he said, ' have sent us to  
 ' request that you will admit nothing to the prejudice of Greece, nor  
 ' receive any proposal from the barbarian. For such a proceeding  
 ' were

Herod. l. viii.  
 c. 142.

CHAP. X. ' were unjust, unbecoming any Grecian people, and on many accounts  
 SECT. II. ' most of all unbecoming you. To you indeed we owe this war,  
 { ' which was excited contrary to our inclination. The quarrel was  
 ' originally with you alone; now it is extended to all Greece. That  
 ' the Athenians therefore, who from of old have more than all man-  
 ' kind asserted the liberties of others, should become the authors  
 ' of slavery to Greece, would be most heinous. We grieve for your  
 ' sufferings; that now for two seasons you have lost the produce of  
 ' your lands; and that the public calamity should so long press so  
 ' severely upon individuals. The Lacedæmonians and the other con-  
 ' federates are desirous of making you reparation. They will engage,  
 ' while the war shall last, to maintain your families, and all those of  
 ' your slaves who will not be useful to you on military service. Let  
 ' not therefore Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, softening  
 ' Mardonius's message. He is certainly acting in his proper sphere.  
 ' A tyrant himself, he coöperates with a tyrant. But for you, pru-  
 ' dence utterly forbids what he advises. You well know that among  
 ' barbarians there is no faith, no truth.'

In the name of the Athenian people, according to Plutarch by  
 Aristides, the following answer was then made to the king of Macedo-  
 Herod. 1. viii. nia: ' We know that the power of the Persian empire is many times  
 C. 143. ' greater than ours. With this therefore it was needless to reproach  
 ' us. Nevertheless, independency being our object, we are deter-  
 ' mined to defend ourselves to the utmost, and you would in vain  
 ' persuade us to make any terms with the barbarian. You may there-  
 ' fore tell Mardonius, that the Athenians say, " While the sun holds  
 " his course we will never make alliance with Xerxes; but trusting in  
 " our assisting gods and heroes, whose temples and images he, setting  
 " at nought, has burnt, we will persevere in resisting him." For  
 ' yourself, come no more to the Athenians with such proposals, nor  
 ' with any view of promoting our welfare recommend what is disho-  
 ' norable and unjust. We shall always be desirous of showing you all  
 ' the friendship and respect to which the ancient hospitality and alli-  
 ance

‘ance between us intitle you.’ The Lacedæmonian ministers were then addressed thus: ‘The apprehension of the Lacedæmonians that we might accept the terms proposed by the barbarian, was, upon a general view of human nature, certainly not unreasonable: but after the proof you have had of the resolution of the Athenians, it becomes a dishonorable apprehension. No riches, nor the offer of the finest country upon earth, should bribe us to connect ourselves with the Persians to the enslaving of Greece. If it was possible that we could be so disposed, yet the obstacles are many and great. First, and what principally affects us, the images and temples of the gods, burnt and reduced to rubbish. This it is our indispensable duty to resent and revenge to the utmost rather than make alliance with the perpetrator. Then, as a Grecian people, our connection in blood and in language, our common dedications to the gods, our common sacrifices, and our similar customs and manners. Of these the Athenians cannot become the betrayers. Know then this, if before you knew it not, that while one Athenian survives we will never ally ourselves with Xerxes. We gratefully acknowledge your kind attention to us, amid the distress and ruin of our private affairs, in proposing to maintain our families. We will however still make the best we can of our own means without burdening you. These then being our resolutions, let there be on your side no delay in corresponding measures. Your army must march immediately; for according to all appearances it will not be long before the barbarian will invade our country: he will move instantly upon receiving information that we have rejected his proposals. Before therefore he can arrive in Attica it will behove us to meet him in Bœotia.’ With these answers the king of Macedonia and the Lacedæmonian ambassadors departed.

Mardonius did not deceive the expectation of the Athenian leaders. He advanced immediately, by nearly the same road that Xerxes had taken, toward Attica. The wonted hesitation and dilatoriness meanwhile prevailed in the counsels of the Peloponnesians. The Persian  
army

CHAP. X.  
SECT. II.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 3.

army was already in Bœotia, and no measures were taken by the confederacy for defending Attica. Once more therefore it became necessary for the Athenians hastily to abandon their country. Probably however the necessity was less grievous than on the former occasion: beside being more prepared, they had less to apprehend. Their own fleet now commanded the Grecian seas. In their own island of Salamis therefore their families and effects would, for the present at least, be beyond annoyance from the Persian arms. Thither all was removed; and in the tenth month after Xerxes had quitted Athens, Mardonius unopposed retook possession of that city.

l. ix. c. 6.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

The conduct of the Peloponnesians, but most particularly of the Lacedæmonians who were at the head of them, appears upon this occasion, by the account of Plutarch as well as of Herodotus, ungenerous, ungrateful, and faithless, if not even dastardly\*: that of the Athenians magnanimous even to enthusiasm. Deprived of their country, and apparently betrayed by their allies, the Persian general thought this a favorable opportunity for attempting once more to draw the Athenians from the Grecian confederacy. He therefore sent Muriichides, a Helleſpontian Greek, to Salamis, with the same offers which he had before made by the king of Macedonia. The minister was admitted to audience by the council of five hundred. Lycidas alone of the counsellors was for paying so much attention to the proposal as to refer it to an assembly of the people. This circumstance was communicated; and, so vehement was the popular zeal for persevering in enmity to Persia, a tumultuous crowd, on the rising of the council, stoned Lycidas to death. The frenzy spread; and, what we had rather not believe tho Herodotus the friend and panegyrist of Athens affirms it, the Athenian women attacked the house of the unfortunate senator, and his widow and children perished under their hands. The law of nations was at the same time so far respected that Muriichides was dismissed without injury or insult.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 4.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 5.

\* Plutarch, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has censured that historian for relating what, in his Life of Aristides, he has himself in strong terms confirmed.



## SECTION III.

*Campaign in Bœotia. Battle of Plataea. Punishment of Thebes.*

MINISTERS had been sent from Athens, accompanied by others from Plataea and Megara, to remonstrate with the Lacedæmonian government on their shameful neglect of their engagements, and to learn what were now to be the measures of the confederacy. The Lacedæmonians were celebrating their feast of the Hyacinthia, one of the most solemn of their calendar. This furnishing some pretext, the ephors, those magistrates who had usurped a power in civil concerns superior to that of the kings of Sparta, delayed their answer from day to day for ten days successively. The works at the Corinthian isthmus, never meanwhile intermitted, were now upon the point of completion. The Athenian ministers, thinking themselves insulted and their country betrayed, determined on the morrow to declare to the Lacedæmonian senate their sense of such treatment, and to leave Sparta. At length however the Lacedæmonians, after consultation with their allies, and, it is added, some reproaches from them, had determined upon juster measures. Five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven helots, making all together a body of forty thousand fighting men (for all the helots acted as light-armed troops) marched silently out of the city in the evening, under the command of Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, regent for his cousin Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, yet a minor. In the morning when the Athenian ministers came to make their final complaint to the senate, they were told that the Lacedæmonian army was already on the confines of Arcadia in its way to meet the Persians. The Argians were, according to Herodotus, so thoroughly in the Persian interest, that they had undertaken to intercept any Spartan troops which should attempt to quit Laconia. The suddenness and secrecy of Pausanias's march defeated their intention. Immediately however, on receiving intelligence that the Lacedæmonian army had entered Arcadia, they sent information to Mardonius.

CHAP. X.

SECT. III.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 6 & 7.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 8 & 11.

c. 7 &amp; 8.

c. 11.

c. 29.

## CHAP. X.

## SECT. III.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 13.

c. 15.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 28.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 41.

c. 15.

While the Persian general had any hope of bringing over the Athenians, he had carefully spared Attica; but as soon as he had assured himself that they were immovable, he gave up the country for plunder to his troops, and he completely destroyed the city. Then, hearing that the Peloponnesians were in motion, he hastened back into Bœotia; a country more commodious for the action of his numerous cavalry, nearer to his magazines, which were principally at Thebes, and from whence, in any misfortune, retreat would be more open, while, in success, the way was equally ready into Peloponnesus. He fixed his camp in the Theban territory, extending it along the course of the Asopus from Erythræ toward Hysia on the border of the Platæan lands. Within this tract he chose a situation where he fortified a space of something more than a square mile.

c. 33.

c. 19.

c. 10 & 28.  
Diod. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 30.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

The Lacedæmonians meanwhile were joined at the isthmus by the other Peloponnesians of the confederacy; and there, according to the constant practice of the Greeks in all momentous undertakings, after solemn sacrifices the bowels of the victims were observed, from whence persons believed to be inspired, or, if such were not to be found, persons learned in divination, undertook to know how far and upon what conditions the gods would be propitious. Tisamenus, an Eleian, attended Pausanias in quality of prophet to the army. The Lacedæmonians had such confidence in the fortune and prophetic abilities of this man that, to secure him to themselves when he had refused all other price, they admitted him and his brother to the full privileges of Spartan citizens; an honor never, to the time of Herodotus, conferred upon any other person. Upon the present occasion the symptoms were very favorable; which would perhaps commonly happen when measures were already resolved upon; tho, among the Greeks, policy and superstition were so intimately blended, that it is often difficult to discover what should be attributed to each. At Eleusis the combined army was joined by the Athenian forces, to the chief command of which Aristides had been raised by a particular decree of the people. Here farther sacrifices were made, and the symptoms

symptoms of the victims were again favorable. The army therefore proceeded with confidence into Bæotia, and took a position on the roots of mount Cithæron opposite to the Persian camp, the river Asopus flowing between them.

Mardonius had judiciously left the passage of the mountains uninterrupted to the Grecian troops; his business being, if possible, to draw them into the champaign country; where, through his cavalry, on which, then as at this day, was the principal reliance of Asiatic armies, victory would be nearly certain, and probably easy to him. But Pausanias would not move from his advantageous ground; and his position was so strong that the Persian general could not venture an attempt to force it. He ordered therefore Masistius, his general of the cavalry, to advance with all the horse, and, by harassing in various parts, to make the Greeks uneasy in their situation; not neglecting at the same time, if he could find or create an opportunity, to attempt an impression. The Persian cavalry all used missile weapons, darts or arrows or both; a practice by which, near four centuries and a half after, they destroyed the Roman army under Crassus, and in which the horsemen of the same countries are still wonderfully skilful at this day. Like the Eastern cavalry at this day also they commonly attacked or harassed by small bodies in succession; vehement in onset, never long in conflict, but, if the enemy was firm in resistance, retreating, as hastily as they had advanced, to prepare for another charge.

Herodot. l. ix.  
C. 20.

The Megarian camp was in the part of the Grecian line the most accessible to cavalry. Here therefore Masistius directed his principal efforts. The Megarians, somewhat surprized by the novel manner of the attack, nevertheless maintained their station. Wearied however at length by the unceasing succession of fresh troops, all of whom approached just enough to give opprobrious language, discharge their darts and arrows, and then instantly retired, the Megarian leaders sent to inform Pausanias of their distress; adding, that they must abandon their post if not quickly relieved. Pausanias himself was at

c. 21.  
Plut. Arisid.

CHAP. X.  
SECT. III.Plutarch.  
Aristid.Herodot. &  
Plutarch. ut  
sup.

a loss how effectually to oppose those desultory attacks of the Persian cavalry. He assembled the generals for their advice, and expressed his wish that volunteers could be found to undertake a business which was so new to him that he was unwilling to risk orders upon it. The Athenians alone offered themselves. Aristides had had the advantage of serving in a high command under the great Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. Upon the present occasion he selected an active officer named Olympiodorus, under whose command he placed three hundred chosen heavy-armed foot, with a large proportion of archers and javelin-men. These seem to have been, in the Athenian armies, superior to the light troops of the Peloponnesians; and probably also to those of the Megarians; who, being a Dorian people from Peloponnesus, might pride themselves upon adhering to the Peloponnesian discipline. Olympiodorus hastened to the relief of the pressed part of the line. The Persian horse, who, by the swiftness of their retreat, eluded every effort of the Megarian heavy-armed foot, found themselves unexpectedly incommoded by the Athenian bowmen. Charging to disperse them, they were received by the heavy-armed foot, upon whom they could make no impression, but suffered in the attempt. Masistius, vexed to be thus baffled, and anxious to recover an advantage from which he had promised himself credit, advanced to direct and encourage those desultory attacks so harassing to regular infantry. In the instant of a charge his horse, wounded with an arrow, reared upright, and Masistius fell. His troops, attentive to their usual evolution, without advertent to their general's misfortune wheeled and retreated full speed. The Athenian heavy-armed foot, rushing forward, surrounded Masistius. His horse was caught and led off. Himself, lying on the ground, after the excellence of his armour, which was complete like that of the knights of western Europe in the times of chivalry, had long resisted the efforts of the Athenian soldiers, was at length pierced in the eye by a javelin, which penetrated to the brain. The Persian cavalry, halting at their usual distance from the enemy, waited in vain for fresh commands. Perceiving then their loss, the whole body prepared to charge together,

to

to revenge their slain general, or, at least, to recover the body. Olympiodorus, expecting this, had sent for succour; but the Persians made their charge before any sufficient reinforcement could arrive, and the Athenians were obliged to retire for more advantageous ground. Assistance however was not delayed. The Grecian foot charged the Persian horse, put them to flight, and recovered their prize. The cavalry stood again at the distance of about a quarter of a mile; but, after some consultation among the principal surviving officers, retreated to their camp.

Masistius was a man very high both in rank and in esteem among the Persians, and, as it appears from Herodotus, next in command to Mardonius. His death was therefore lamented in their camp with all the pomp of public mourning, and every honorable testimony of general grief. The event was, on the other hand, not a little encouraging to the Greeks. The leaders derived just confidence from the experience that the formidable cavalry of the East could be resisted; and the body of the slain general, borne on a carriage through the whole camp, however in itself a melancholy object, was, in this season, an animating spectacle to the soldiers. It was now determined to quit the present ground; which, tho otherwise advantageous, had been found inconvenient from scarcity of water (for the decided superiority of the enemy in cavalry made it difficult to water from the Asopus), and to venture to a lower situation within the Plataean territory, near the Gargaphian fountain. In their march from Erythræ they kept the mountain-ridge by Hyfiæ, but the ground of incampment consisted of gentle eminences only.

In this situation, nothing forbidding, the troops of every Grecian state claimed their accustomed post in the line. The Lacedæmonians, having been long the leading people of Greece, had the right as their acknowledged privilege. The Athenians, unquestionably next in consequence, thought themselves intitled to the second rank; but having never acted in any large body with Peloponnesian armies, no custom had established their degree of precedence. The Tegeans therefore claimed

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 24.

c. 25.

c. 25, 26.

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claimed the left of the line, as their post by ancient prescription. A very ruinous quarrel might have ensued but for the wise and dignified conduct of the Athenian commanders. The dispute was brought before a meeting of the officers of the army. The Tegeans urged their claim in a studied oration, supporting it by a long detail of the great actions of their ancestors. Aristides answered for the Athenians\*.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 27.

‘We understand,’ he said, ‘that we came here not to harangue but to fight. Otherwise, were we disposed to boast of the deeds in arms of our ancestors, we could go as far into antiquity as the Arcadians, and perhaps find more honorable testimonies in our favor. For what has passed in our own times we need only mention Marathon. But we think it highly unbecoming, in a moment like the present, to be disputing about precedency. We are ready to obey you, Lacedæmonians, wheresoever, and next to whomsoever you think it for the common advantage to place us. Wherever our station may be appointed, we shall endeavour to act as becomes us in the common cause of Greece. Command therefore, and depend upon our obedience.’ The Lacedæmonians without hesitation, and with one voice exclaimed, that ‘The Athenians ought to have the post of honor in preference to the Arcadians.’ The army was then disposed in the following order: Five thousand Spartans of the city held the first place on the right, attended by thirty-five thousand light-armed Helots: then five thousand Lacedæmonians of the other towns of Laconia, attended by five thousand Helots. Next to these were the Tegeans, in number fifteen hundred: then five thousand Corinthians, three hundred Potidæans from Pallene, six hundred Orchomenians of Arcadia, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, one thousand Træzenians, two hundred Lepreans, four hundred Mycenæans and Tirynthians, one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians, four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ambracians, eight hundred Leucadians and

c. 28.

\* Herodotus, in relating this transaction, speaks of the Athenians in general, without naming any one. Plutarch attributes all to Aristides.

Anactorians,

Anactorians, two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, five hundred Æginetans, three thousand Megareans, six hundred Platæans, and lastly eight thousand Athenians held the extreme of the left wing. These, exclusively of the Helots, were together thirty-eight thousand seven hundred; all heavy-armed foot. But every Spartan of the city had seven Helots attending him: every other Lacedæmonian had one; and the slaves, who acted as light-armed soldiers, attending the other Greeks, were also, according to Herodotus, about in the proportion of one to every heavy-armed soldier. The light-armed would thus be in all sixty-nine thousand five hundred, and the total number of fighting men \* a hundred and eight thousand two hundred. There were besides eighteen hundred Thebians not regularly armed, who would make the whole a hundred and ten thousand. Herodotus makes no mention of horse in the Grecian army; probably because the force was inconsiderable and utterly incompetent to face the numerous and excellent cavalry of Persia.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 29.

As soon as it was known that the Greeks had fled off toward Plataea, Mardonius also moved and incamped over against them, keeping still the Asopus in his front. Herodotus supposes his army to have consisted now of three hundred and fifty thousand fighting men; of whom fifty thousand were Greeks or Macedonians; tho, he says, the number of these was never exactly ascertained. In the number of the others also he has omitted to deduct those probably lost in the march of Artabazus and in winter-quarters, together with the sick, beside those by his own account destroyed at the siege of Potidæa. Among the Greeks under the Persian banners, a thousand Phocians followed with extreme reluctance; while their fellowcountrymen, who had taken refuge among the fastnesses of Parnassus, were, with all the activity that the zeal of revenge and the lust of plunder united could excite, continually harassing the outskirts of the army.

c. 31.  
c. 40.

c. 31.

\* *Ἀνδρῶν μεγάλων.* There were perhaps other slaves who did not bear arms, and there might be light-armed soldiers who were not slaves. Such probably the Thebians were. See note 49, p. 706, of Wesseling's Herodotus.

Mardonius,

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Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 37, 38.

Mardonius, as well as Pausanias, had an Eleian prophet in his pay. Herodotus, who is very particular in his account of the business, affirms that the Persian general had even taken pains to acquire information from the Grecian oracles concerning the event of the war. The prophetic cavern of Trophonius at Lebadea in Boeotia had been particularly consulted for him. Possibly he might think it of consequence to propagate the belief among the Greeks, both his auxiliaries and his enemies, that their own gods favored the Persian cause. But the Greeks under his command had also their particular prophet, whose predictions might be inconvenient to him, and against whom a Grecian prophet under his own influence might be useful. For himself it is utterly unlikely that he would pay any regard to the oracles of deities the belief in whom the religion of his country taught him to despise and abhor. The Grecian prophets however in both armies, on inspection of the sacrificed victims, foretold victory to their own, provided it received the attack. These prophecies, if dictated by policy, appear on both sides judicious\*. For the Greeks had only to keep their advantageous ground while the vast army of their enemy consumed its magazines, and they would have the benefit of victory without risk. To the Persians also the same prediction might be useful; to account to the soldier for the inaction of his general before an army so inferior, and to keep him quiet under his sufferings from scarcity and probably badness of provisions, together with the want of many things to which Asiatics were accustomed, while means were sought to intice or to force the Greeks from their position. Eight days passed without any material attempt on either side. But during this quiet Mardonius obtained exact information of the defiles of

c. 39.

\* If the simple Herodotus sometimes tires with reiterated details of the superstition of his age, yet the philosophic Plutarch is far more disgusting. Herodotus, drawing his pictures from the life, is often informing, and never fails to be in some degree amusing. We are indeed sometimes at a loss to know what he

believed himself; and often we wish in vain to discover how far the real belief of statesmen and generals has operated, and where their policy only has made use of the credulity of the vulgar. Here we might expect the philosopher of an enlightened age to assist us; but we are totally disappointed.

mount



mount Cithæron, through which the Grecian army received its supplies. On the evening of the ninth day a large body of horse marched. Just where the defile meets the plain they fell in with a convoy. They killed men and cattle till sated with slaughter, and drove the remainder to their camp. Two days then again passed without any considerable event, neither army venturing to pass the Asopus; but the Persian horse, in detached bodies, were unceasingly harassing the Greeks.

Whether the Grecian soothsayer in the Persian general's pay was really intractable, or whether only the historian's desire to establish the credit of the religion of his country induced him to propagate and perhaps believe the report, Mardonius, we are told, at length determined to disregard the Grecian prognostics, which forbade attack, and to follow only the laws and customs of the Persians in engaging the enemy. The conduct however which Herodotus attributes to him upon this occasion, shows both the general and the politician. Having summoned the principal Grecian officers of his army, he asked if they knew of any oracle declaring that a Persian army should perish in Greece. None would own that they knew of any such, tho it seems a report of such an oracle had been circulated. 'Then', said Mardonius, 'I will tell you, that I well know an oracle has foretold the destruction of a Persian army that shall plunder the temple of Delphi. Be however assured that the army under my orders shall never violate that temple. The Greeks therefore, allies of the Persians, may proceed, confident of the favor of their gods, and of victory.' He then declared his intention to attack the confederates on the next day, and directed to prepare accordingly. As the historian had conversed with Bæotians of rank who served under Mardonius, the account of this transaction, in itself probable, might come to him well authenticated.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 42.

c. 16.

Among those of Grecian race who were now subjects of the Persian empire, Alexander king of Macedonia, from an independent sovereign become the follower of a Persian general, would not natu-

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turally

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## SECT. III.

Herodot. l. ix.

c. 44, 45.

Plutarch.

Aristid.

turally be the most satisfied with his new situation. Revolving in his mind all the possible consequences of the approaching day, he could not rest. At midnight he mounted his horse, rode to the Athenian line, and demanded to speak with the general. Aristides, informed that an unknown person on horseback from the Persian camp, and apparently of rank, demanded to speak with him, assembled some of his principal officers, and went with them to the place. The king of Macedonia told them, ' that Mardonius had determined to attack the Grecian camp next morning, and had given his orders for the purpose. Should anything nevertheless prevent the attack from taking place, he advised that the Grecian generals should persevere in holding their present situation; for the deficiency of the magazines, he said, would soon compel the Persians to retire. His affection for the Greek nation in general, and his particular regard for the Athenian people, had induced him to hazard the very dangerous measure in which they saw him engaged. He need not therefore, he was sure, request from them that secrecy which his safety required; but, on the contrary, should the war at last have a favorable issue for them, he trusted that his known inclination to the Grecian cause, and more especially his service of that night would be remembered, when Greece, being free, might assist Macedonia in recovering independency.' Alexander hastened back to his own camp; Aristides immediately went to Pausanias with the intelligence he had received.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 46.

On the arrival of the Athenian general at the commander in chief's tent, the important consultation was instantly entered upon in what manner to resist the attack expected in a few hours, which was to decide the fate of Greece. It had been observed that the native Persians, esteemed far superior to the other Asiatic infantry, held the left of the enemy's line against the Lacedæmonians, and the Greeks in the Persian service the right against the Athenians. Pausanias proposed a change in the order of the Grecian army; that the Athenians, who alone of the confederates had any experience of action with the Persians,

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fians, and who were elate, not only with the memory of their great victory at Marathon, but also with the event of their recent engagement with the cavalry, should move to the right wing, and that the Lacedæmonians, long accustomed to be superior to all the Greeks, should take the left. Aristides readily consented, and orders were immediately given accordingly. Day broke, and the Persian generals observed that the Grecian troops were in motion. This unexpected circumstance induced them to defer the intended attack. Change in their own disposition might become necessary. Changes were made. The day was consumed in evolutions of both armies, and the Persian infantry never came into action. But the cavalry harraßed unceasingly the more accessible parts of the Grecian line. Generally they did no more than discharge their bows and hastily retire; but thus they kept a constant alarm; and, while they inflicted many wounds, afforded little opportunity for revenge. A more serious attack was however made upon that part of the Lacedæmonian line which guarded the Gargaphian fountain. Here the horse remained masters of the field.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 47.  
Plutarch. A-  
ristid.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 49.  
Plutarch. A-  
ristid.

Night put an end to this desultory kind of action; when, after a day of unremitted fatigue \*, the Grecian army was without water. Provisions also began to fail, the activity of the Persian horse intercepting all supplies. To move therefore was indispensable. At little more than a mile from the Gargaphian fountain toward Platæa, the waters of the Asopus, in their descent from mount Cithæron, formed an island not half a mile wide. This spot, for the sake of water, it was determined to occupy. At the same time it was resolved to send half the army to the mountains to bring in a convoy of provisions which waited there, not daring to stir beyond the defiles. But they feared to attempt a movement in the plain in presence of the Persian horse, from which in their very camp they had so suffered. The second watch of the night was therefore the time appointed for the march. But when, danger pressing, fear ran high, the troops of each inde-

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 50.

c. 51.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

\* Κίνησι μὲν τῇς ἡμέρας πᾶσαι, προσκιμένης τῆς ἵππου, ἔχον πόρον ἄγρτον. Herod. l. ix. c. 52.

CHAP. X.  
SECT. III.Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 52.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

pendent state little regarded the orders of the commander in chief. Instead of halting at the island, they fled (for that is the term used by Herodotus and confirmed even by Plutarch) as far as the temple of Juno under the walls of Plataea, at the distance of two miles and a half from the Gargaphian fountain.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 53, 54.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

The obstinacy of a Spartan officer, from which only unfortunate consequences could reasonably be expected, led immediately to the great and most important victory which followed. Amompharetus, whose military rank was that of lochage, but who was besides vested with the sacred dignity of the priesthood, urging the laws of his country against his general's orders, absolutely refused to retreat. Pausanias, incensed at this disobedience, yet, as the circumstance was altogether new in the Spartan service, at a loss how to act, detained the Lacedæmonian forces while the others were pressing their march. But the Athenian general, ever attentive to the service of the confederacy at large, before he would suffer his own troops to move, sent to inquire the cause of the delay of which he was informed among the

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 55.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.

Lacedæmonians. The officer dispatched upon this occasion found the commander in chief in high altercation with Amompharetus; who, at the instant of the Athenian's arrival, taking up a large stone in both his hands, in allusion to the Grecian mode of voting by casting a shell, a pebble, or a die into an urn, threw it before his general's feet, saying, 'With this die I give my vote not to fly from the 'strangers:' for by that gentle term the Lacedæmonians usually distinguished foreigners, whom the other Greeks called barbarians. Pausanias desired the Athenian officer to report to his immediate commander what he had seen, and to request that the motions of the Athenian troops might be directed by what should be observed of the Lacedæmonian. At length, day breaking, he gave his orders for the Lacedæmonians with the Tegeans, who alone of the other confederates remained with him, to move toward the proposed ground of incampment. They directed their march along the hills: The Athenians only ventured in the plain. Then at last Amompharetus, yield-

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 56.

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ing something of his obstinacy, ordered his lochus, with a slow pace, to follow the rest of the army.

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The dawn again discovered to the Persians the Grecian army in unexpected motion. The horse, always alert, and now elate with the success of the preceding day, was quickly upon the Lacedæmonian rear. The movement of the Greeks being taken for flight, Mardonius led the Persian infantry in pursuit. The whole army followed, with all the haste and confusion of an ill-disciplined multitude eager to share in certain victory. The Grecian general had not been immediately aware of the cowardly disobedience of that large part of his forces which had pushed on beyond the ground intended to be occupied. It was now advisable, if possible, to join them; but the Persian horse so annoyed his rear, with desultory attacks continually reiterated, that it became necessary to make a stand. He sent therefore to inform the Athenian general of all circumstances, and to request his immediate coöperation in an effort to repel the enemy's cavalry. Aristides readily consented; but, before he could join the Lacedæmonians, the Grecian troops in the Persian service were upon him, and he had himself to cope with superior numbers. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans however alone formed a considerable army. They were above eleven thousand heavy-armed foot, and more than forty thousand light-armed slaves attended them. But the light-armed of the Peloponnesians were of so little estimation, that, notwithstanding their numbers, Pausanias had particularly desired a reinforcement of Athenian bowmen. The ground however, consisting of the rugged roots of Mount Cithæron with the Alopous flowing at the bottom, was favorable for defence, and adverse to the action of cavalry. The Persian infantry was therefore brought up. A fierce engagement ensued. The Persians, after discharging their missile weapons, closed upon the Greeks, and showed themselves, says the impartial historian, neither in courage nor in strength inferior\*. But they were very inferior in arms for close fight, and not less so in practice and in science. With

Herodot. lix.  
c. 57.

c. 58.

c. 59.

c. 60.

c. 61.  
Plutarch. Ar-  
istid.

Herodot. lix.  
c. 62, & seq.

\* To the same purpose also even Plutarch speaks: *Περσὶν πολλοῖς — οὐκ ἀπρόκτους οὐδὲ ἀδύμους ἀνίσταται*. V. Aristid.

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their undefended bodies and short weapons they nevertheless made vigorous assaults, many of them seizing and even breaking the long spears of the Greeks. Unacquainted with that exactness of close formation and that steady march, in which the Greeks and particularly the Lacedæmonians excelled, they rushed forward singly, or in very small bodies, and perished in vain attempts to penetrate the Spartan phalanx. As their efforts at length, through repeated failure began to relax, the Greeks advanced upon them. The Tegeans, according to Herodotus, made the first impression; the Lacedæmonians then pushed forward, and confusion soon became general among the Persian infantry.

Mardonius, who, a little before, had thought himself pursuing an enemy neither able nor daring to withstand him, was seized with the deepest anguish to find victory thus turning against him. Had he instantly determined upon a retreat, he might probably still have avoided any considerable loss; for his infantry would soon have been safe in the plain under the protection of his numerous cavalry. But possibly signal and speedy success was indispensable to him. His fortune, perhaps his life, and the lot of all his family, might depend upon it: less however through the caprice of the prince than that of the people; which is always most dangerous under a despotic government. His army was too numerous to subsist long in a narrow and mountainous country, without supplies by sea. The necessity of decision therefore urging, in the crisis before him he determined to rest all upon the fortune of the present moment. At the head of a chosen body of cavalry he hastened to rally and support his broken infantry. By a vigorous and well-conducted charge, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, he checked the progress of the Spartan phalanx; but he could not break that firm and well-disciplined body. In his efforts, after many of his bravest officers and numbers of his soldiers had been killed about him, he received himself a mortal wound. His fall was the signal for flight to his whole army. For in Asiatic armies, the jealousy of despotism being adverse to that close succession

Herod. l. viii.  
c. 99, 100.



succession of various ranks in command which in the European contributes so much to the preservation of order in all events, the death of the commander in chief can scarcely fail to superinduce complete confusion and the certain ruin of the enterprize. Artabazus, next in command to Mardonius, is said to have differed in opinion from his general in regard both to the war itself, and to the mode of conducting it. It does not appear that he was at all engaged in the battle \*. As soon as he was assured of the rout of the Persian infantry, leaving the rest of the army to any who would take charge of it, he hastened his own retreat, with forty thousand men who had been under his immediate orders, toward Phocis.

While the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were thus unexpectedly victorious upon the hills, the Athenians were sharply engaged with the Bæotians in the plain below. The Greeks in the Persian service are said to have been no less than fifty thousand: but the greater part, little earnest in the cause, kept aloof. The abilities of Aristides therefore, and the valor of the Athenians, not exposed to a contest too unequal, at length prevailed. The Bæotians fled toward Thebes. The rest, prepared to act according to circumstances, made a timely retreat. The crowd of Asiatics of various nations never stood the charge of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, but fled profusely on the first appearance of flight among those bands of native Persians who had borne the brunt of the battle. The horse however, both Persian and Bæotian, still kept the field and gave considerable protection to the fugitive infantry.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 67, &  
Plutarch. Ar-  
istid.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 68.

Intelligence had quickly passed to the Greeks under the walls of Platæa, that the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were engaged and successful. Anxious then to repair their shameful misconduct, with that usual unhappiness of error which still leads to farther error, they

c. 69.

† Rollin is generally exact; but I know not where he learnt that Artabazus distinguished himself by his gallant exertion in this battle. Herodotus mentions on a prior occasion (1) that Artabazus became remarkable by

his conduct at Platæa, but neither Herodotus nor Diodorus nor Plutarch, in describing the battle, mention that he was at all engaged. Diodorus gives an account of his retreat exactly conformable to that of Herodotus.

(1) B. vii. c. 126.

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advanced with more haste than good order toward the field of battle; and the Megarians and Phliasians, venturing by the plain, were attacked by the Theban horse, who killed six hundred, and drove the rest to the mountains.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 70.  
Plutarch.  
Aristid.  
Diod. Sic. l. ix.  
c. 32.

The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans meanwhile, animated by unexpected success yet steady through practised discipline, in spite of all the efforts of the Persian cavalry, pressed on to the fortified camp; the refuge of the greatest part of the routed troops, and the depositary of all the valuables of the army. They immediately attempted an assault: but the Lacedæmonians were as remarkable for their ignorance of sieges as for their skill in the field. They were baffled with loss till the Athenian forces arrived. Under the direction of the Athenian officers, after vigorous efforts on both sides, an assault at length succeeded. A horrid slaughter ensued. The victory indeed of a free people, fighting for their possessions, their families, and their independency, against foreign invaders, is never likely to be mild. Of two hundred and sixty thousand Asiatics, said to have composed the Persian army, exclusively of those who retreated under Artabazus, only three thousand, we are told, survived. Both Herodotus and Plutarch however avoid all detail of this massacre. How much of it happened within the fortified camp, and what execution was done on fugitives over a country so surrounded by seas and mountains that it was scarcely possible for one to escape, we neither are nor should desire to be informed. Artabazus himself, at the head of forty thousand men, was so apprehensive of being cut off in his difficult march to the Hellespont, that, to deter the nations through which he passed from any hostile attempts, he industriously spread the report that his forces were only the advanced guard of the great army, which was following under Mardonius.

When opposition ceased within the Persian lines, and the spirit of slaughter was at length sated, the rich plunder of the camp drew the attention of the conquerors. Here the wealth of the lords of Asia displayed a scene so new to the citizens of the little republics of Greece,



CHAP. X.  
SECT. III.Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 70.

c. 85.

Greece, that they were at a loss on what objects in preference to fix their avidity. The Tegeans however, who had first surmounted the rampart, and indeed throughout the action had well supported their pretension to precedence among the Greeks, having the fortune also first to arrive at the magnificent pavilion of Mardonius, did not hesitate to stop there. Instantly they laid their rapacious hands upon all its rich contents, great part of which had been the furniture of Xerxes himself, which, on his hasty departure for Asia, he had presented to his general and brother-in-law. But they were not permitted intirely to enjoy this precedence in pillage. The commander in chief quickly issued orders that none should presume to appropriate any part of the booty, but that the whole should be collected to be fairly divided among those who had together earned it. A brazen manger only of very curious workmanship the Tegeans were allowed to retain, as an honorary testimony to their particular valor and fortune. The Helots attending the Lacedæmonian forces were ordered to collect the rest. Tents and their furniture, adorned with gold and silver, collars, bracelets, hilts of cimeters, golden cups, and various other utensils of gold and silver, together with horses, camels, and women, were the principal spoil. Abundance of rich clothes, which at another time would have been thought valuable plunder, were now disregarded. But the vigilance of those appointed to superintend the business did not suffice to prevent the Helots from concealing many things of value, which they sold principally to the Æginetans; a nation (if we may so call the inhabitants of a rock) of merchant-pirates, who by this unworthy traffic, according to Herodotus, acquired riches before unknown among them.

Herodot.  
l. ix. c. 81. &  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 33.

The booty being collected, a tenth was first set apart, according to the customary piety of the Greeks, for an offering to the gods. From the produce of this, says the cotemporary historian, was dedicated to the god at Delphi the golden tripod which stands upon the three-headed brazen serpent next the altar, the brazen statue of Jupiter at Olympia, ten cubits high, and the brazen statue of Neptune, seven cubits high, at the isthmus. The Tegeans dedicated their

## CHAP. X.

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manger at Tegea in the temple of the Alean Minerva. To attribute to them a modesty becoming their valor and which had profited from reproof, we should wish to interpret the goddess's title, from analogy in a language derived from the Arcadian, to signify that divine wisdom which directs what human ignorance calls Chance. The rest of the spoil was divided among those who had fought for it.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 82.

Among the anecdotes transmitted concerning this great event, one related by the original historian has been particularly celebrated. The appendages of the royal household were found in Mardonius's tent, nearly intire; and most of the domestic slaves had escaped the massacre. Pausanias, after admiring the various riches of the scene and the many contrivances of luxury, ordered a supper to be prepared by the Persian slaves, exactly as it would have been for Mardonius had he been living and in his command. The orders were diligently executed: the splendid furniture was arranged; the sideboard displayed a profusion of gold and silver plate; the table was covered with exquisite elegance. Pausanias then ordered his usual Spartan supper to be placed by the side of this sumptuous entertainment. Little preparation was necessary. Then sending for the principal Grecian officers, 'I have desired your company here,' he said, 'to show you the folly of the Persian general. Living as you see at home, he came thus far to take from us such a miserable pittance as ours.'

\*. 77.

The Mantineians had arrived from Plataea presently after the storming of the camp. Vexed to have lost their share of glory and reward, both so extraordinary, they marched immediately, contrary to the inclination of Pausanias, in pursuit of Artabazus. Having reached the borders of Thessaly, they however returned without effecting anything. Presently after them the Eleians had arrived. The generals of both, on their return to their respective countries, were punished with banishment.

c. 85.

The next care of the Greeks, after the collection of the spoil, and what upon all occasions they esteemed a necessary and sacred office, was the burial of their slain. The Lacedæmonians formed three separate

parate burying-places : one for those who had borne sacred offices \*, of whom the gallant Amompharetus had fallen ; another for the other Lacedæmonians ; and the third for the Helots. The Athenians, Tegeans, Megarians and Phliasiens had each a single burying-place. Barrows, raised according to that extensive practice of antiquity which we have already had occasion to notice, distinguished to following ages the several spots †.

These solemn ceremonies were scarcely over when a dangerous jealousy broke out between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the question to whom the accustomed Aristeia, or first honors for military merit, were due upon this great occasion. Immediate ill consequences were however prevented through the influence of the Corinthian leaders ; who, interfering as mediators, named the Platæans as having merited beyond all others. When the common cause particularly required exertion by sea, they, tho an inland people, had served aboard the fleet ; and in the campaign by land which had now had so glorious an event, none had more distinguished them-

Plutarch.  
Aristid.

Herod. I. viii.  
c. 1.  
Thucyd. I. iii.  
c. 54.

\* This obvious interpretation of the term *ipias*, which stands in all the editions of Herodotus, does not appear to me loaded with any difficulty. I wish to avoid discussion of matters which lie within the proper province of the critic or the antiquarian rather than of the historian ; yet I must own that I think the ingenious conjectures of Valckenarius and others upon this passage, in the notes of Wesseling's edition, all more open to objection than the old reading.

† Plutarch in his Life of Aristides expresses wonder, and, in his Treatise against Herodotus, much indignation at the assertion that the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, and Athenians alone gained the victory of Platæa : yet in the former work he has very sufficiently accounted for it ; relating, much in the same manner as Herodotus, the disorderly flight of the other Greeks before the engagement. It is little likely that, while memory of the transactions was yet fresh, a historian writing for the Greek nation would venture a false assertion so dishonorable to so large a part of it, concerning facts in their nature of such public notoriety ; and it is still less likely

that such an assertion would remain to be confuted in Plutarch's age. The interest which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians afterward had in courting the other Grecian states may sufficiently account for the epigrams, barrows, and other such uncertain evidences as Plutarch has quoted. Indeed, before Plutarch's testimony against Herodotus can be of any weight he must be first reconciled to himself. It does however appear extraordinary, that Herodotus in his narrative of this great event should never once have mentioned the Platæans. The assertion of Plutarch, that the Greeks decreed to the Platæans the first honors for military merit on the occasion, tho Diodorus differs from him, is confirmed by Thucydides, a much higher authority. Possibly, on account of their subsequent fate, he might have had some reason for omitting all mention of them, similar to that, whatever it was, which made him totally silent concerning the two first Messenian wars. When we consider his extreme freedom by turns with all the most powerful states of Greece, both omisions appear mysterious.

CHAP. X.  
SECT. III.Plutarch.  
Aristid.  
Thucyd. l. iii.  
c. 56.

selves by their zeal and bravery. Their actions on the day of Platæa are not particularly recorded by historians; but, ever warm in their political attachment to Athens, and having their post next in the line to the Athenians, they had probably fought under the orders of Aristides. Their commonwealth was too small to excite jealousy: all the other Greeks approved the determination of the Corinthians; and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians acquiesced.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 86, & seq.  
Diod. sic. l. xi.  
c. 33.

This dangerous business being thus accommodated, a council was held to consider of farther measures. The battle of Platæa, it is said, was fought on the twenty-second of September\*. The season was therefore not yet too far advanced for taking vengeance on those Greeks who had joined the Persians. It was determined to march immediately against Thebes, and to require the delivery of Timegenides and Attaginus, heads of the faction which had led the Bæotians to the Persian alliance. On the eleventh day from the battle of Platæa the army entered the Theban lands; and the delivery of the obnoxious persons being refused, plunder and waste of the country and preparations for the siege of the city were begun. This was borne during twenty days. Then Timegenides, fearing the turn of popular favor against him, proposed to the Theban people to offer the payment of a fine to atone for the transgression of the republic against the common cause of Greece; declaring that, if it should be refused, he would be ready to surrender himself with Attaginus, rather than be the occasion or pretence for the destruction of his country. The proposal was accepted by the assembly. But in the following night Attaginus fled; leaving his own family, as well as his associate Timegenides, to the mercy of the enraged Thebans. His children were immediately delivered to the commander in chief of the confederate Greeks. But the Spartan prince did not want li-

\* Thus the chronologers have determined, not without authority; but the Grecian calendar was yet too little exact for absolute certainty to a day. Ταύτην τὴν μέγλην ἰσχυρῶσαντο (says Plutarch, speaking of the battle of Platæa) τῇ τετράδι τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἰσημίον, κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανήμιου

φθινοῦτος, ἥ καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀδράσεται συνέδριον, καὶ θύσει τῷ ἐπιθίριω διὰ Πλαταιῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. Τῇ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστόν, ὅπου καὶ ἔτι, διαγινώσκοντων τῶν ἐν ἀπολογίᾳ μῶλλον, ἄλλην ἄλδιαι μὲν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευταίην ἀγορεύει. Plutarch. Aristid.

berality to distinguish between the criminal father and the innocent offspring, whom he immediately dismissed unhurt. Timegenides and some other principal Thebans being then demanded, were surrendered. They expected that time would be allowed them to prepare for a public defence, and trusted that means would be found, between the interest of their friends and money, to insure their safety. Pausanias suspected this, and determined to prevent it. He detained them till the confederate forces separated for their several provinces; and then, taking them to Corinth, caused them to be there executed; as a well-meant example, no doubt, for the common cause of Greece; but, as far as appears, without trial, and certainly without law.

## SECTION IV.

*Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Batt'e of Mycale. Conclusion of that called by Grecian Writers the Persian or Median War.*

WHILE the arms of the confederate Greeks were thus wonderfully attended with success and glory against the immediate invaders of their country, the fleet, which had lain during the summer inactive at Delos, was at length excited to enterprize. There appears to have been in Samos always a strong party ready to take any opportunity for spirited opposition to the Persians, and to Theomestor, whom the Persians had raised to the tyranny of the island. Engaging in their views Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras the Milesian chief, the Samians deputed Lampon and Athenagoras, two principal men among them, to attend him on a mission to the commanders of the confederate fleet. In a conference with Leotychides and Xanthippus, Hegesistratus represented ' that the whole Ionian people were ready, on the least encouragement, to revolt against the Persians, and join the Grecian cause: that the bare appearance of the Grecian fleet off their coast would suffice to excite them to spirited action: that the Persian government was remiss and weak beyond what could be readily believed; insomuch that never did the means offer, to the

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Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 90.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 34.

CHAP. X.  
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commanders of a powerful armament, of so rich a booty with so little risk.' He proceeded to urge the Spartan king and the Athenian chief by their common gods to use the means so easily in their power for rescuing a Grecian people from subjection to barbarians; and he offered, for himself and his colleagues, if their fidelity was doubted, to remain hostages with the fleet. Leotychides, according to a common superstition of both Greeks and Romans, struck with the name of Hegeſistratus as a favorable omen (it signifies the leader of an armament) readily came into the measure proposed. Dismissing the two other deputies, he detained Hegeſistratus; and only one day being allowed for preparation, the whole fleet, consisting now, according to Diodorus Siculus, of two hundred and fifty trireme galleys, moved on the next for Samos.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 91, 92.

Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 34.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 96.

The season was so far advanced that the commanders of the Phœnician squadron in the Persian service, finding that neither any enterprize was intended by the Persian admiral, nor any expected from the Greeks, had requested leave to depart for their own ports for the winter before the equinoctial storms should set in; and it had been granted. Having thus incautiously parted with their best ships and ablest seamen, the Persians were highly alarmed with intelligence that the Grecian fleet was approaching. Hastily quitting Samos, they passed to the neighboring promontory of Mycale on the Ionian coast, where an army, according to Herodotus of sixty thousand men, was incamped under the command of Tigranes. Here, says the historian, near the temple of the venerable deities, and that temple of the Eleusinian Ceres which Philistus son of Pasicles built when he followed Neleus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus, they hauled their galleys upon the beach; and, with stones found upon the place and palisades formed of olives and other cultivated trees, raised a defence around them.

c. 97.

c. 98.

The Grecian commanders had expected to find the Persian fleet in full force at Samos, and proposed to engage it on that friendly coast: but they were not prepared for the more hazardous measure of following it to the Asiatic shore. A council of war was therefore held,

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in which it was deliberated whether to retire again immediately to their own seas, or first to make some attempt in the Hellespont. But intelligence of the departure of the Phœnician Squadron gave encouragement; the spirit of vigorous enterprise gained; and it was shortly determined to seek the enemy's fleet. On approaching the Ionian coast it was not without surprise that they found the sea completely yielded to them, and the enemy prepared for opposition by land alone. Ardor on one side would naturally rise in proportion to such evident backwardness on the other. The bold measure was resolved upon by the Greeks to debark their whole force capable of acting by land, which would be by far the largest part of their crews, and to attack the fortified camp. Probably the leaders had reasonable hopes, and perhaps confirmed information, that the numerous Greeks among the Persian forces wanted only opportunity to revolt. Leotychides, however, practised an expedient like that of Themistocles at Artemisium. He sent a herald in a boat within hearing of the Ionian camp, who made proclamation, according to the original historian, in these words: 'Men of Ionia, attend to what I say, of which the Persians will understand nothing. When we engage it will become every one of you to think of the liberty of all: the word is Hebe. Let those who hear inform those who are out of hearing.' The Samians had before incurred some suspicion from the Persian leaders by their generous kindness to about five hundred Athenian prisoners, who had been brought from Attica and disposed of as slaves in Asia Minor. They had ransomed all, and sent them with subsistence to Athens. The Samian troops in the Persian camp were therefore now deprived of their arms. The Milesians, being also suspected, were detached from the army on pretence of service elsewhere.

Leotychides debarked his forces without opposition at some distance from the Persian camp. To add to their animation he caused a report to be spread (for real intelligence could not have arrived, it being, it is said, the very day of the battle of Platæa) that Pausanias had gained a complete victory over Mardonius in Bœotia. The Grecian forces

Herod. ut sup.  
& Diod. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 34.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 99.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 35.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 100.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 35.  
Polyæn. Strat.  
l. ii. c. 33.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 102.

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forces marched in two columns: one under the command of Xanthippus, composed of the Athenian, Corinthian, Sicyonian, and Træzenian troops, held the plain against the shore; the other, consisting of the Lacedæmonians with the remaining allies under Leotychides, went by the more inland and hilly road. The former arrived first, and, eager to ingross the glory of the day, proceeded immediately to the assault; which was so sudden, so well conducted and so vigorous, that they had already entered the Persian rampart before the Lacedæmonians could come up. Their rashness was favored, and perhaps justified by the ready zeal of the Greeks in the Persian service to give them every assistance. The Samians, exasperated by the treatment they had received, exerted themselves, tho' unarmed, by all means in their power; and their exhortations and example determined the other Asian Greeks. From every account in Herodotus it appears that the proper Persians had not yet deserved to lose that military reputation which they had acquired under the great Cyrus; but, of all the infantry in the service of the empire, they almost alone seem to have merited the title of soldiers. Probably the proportion of them at Mycale was not great. The other Asiatics shrunk before the vehemence of the Athenian attack; but the Persians were still resisting with the utmost bravery when the Lacedæmonians arrived. Then they were overpowered, and mostly cut in pieces. Tigranes, general of the Persian land-forces, and two of the principal naval commanders were among the slain. Of the Greeks Périlaus, commander of the Sicyonians, was the only man of rank who fell.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 103.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 36.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 102.

c. 103.

c. 104.

Mycale was a small peninsula, and from the place of engagement was no retreat by land but through narrow passes over a mountain. The Persian commanders, little expecting so sudden an attempt upon their numerous forces within fortified lines, thought they had provided sufficiently for security by disarming the suspected Samians, and detaching the Milesians to guard the passes. The latter circumstance turned to the complete destruction of their army: The Milesians, with the most determined enmity, intercepted the fugitives, and few escaped.



escaped. When slaughter ceased, the Greeks, remaining quiet possessors of whatever the Persian camp and fleet had contained, carried out everything valuable that could easily be removed, and then set fire to the rest, together with the ships, and the whole Persian fleet was burnt.

After this signal blow upon the Persian power the Grecian fleet returned to Samos. A council was immediately held to consider what measures should be taken for the present security and future welfare of the revolted Ionians. The islanders might be safe under the protection of the fleet; against which it would now be difficult, even for the resources of the Persian empire, soon to raise a force capable of disputing the command of the seas. But it was generally deemed impossible, for any power of Greece, to defend the long line of continental colonies against the land-force lying immediately behind them. Confirmation arrived of the news of the complete victory over the Persian arms in Bæotia. The Peloponnesians then proposed to remove the Ionians from Asia to Greece, and to put them in possession of all the seaports of those states which had sided with the Persians. But the Athenians dissented: they denied the necessity for so violent a measure; and they insisted peremptorily that the Peloponnesians had no right to interfere in the disposal of Athenian colonies. The Peloponnesians had the moderation immediately to yield to this argument. Then the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders bound themselves by solemn oaths to be faithful to the Grecian confederacy. The islands would be a present refuge for those continentals most obnoxious to Persian vengeance, whom the walls of their towns could not protect. Sardis was too near, the force there too great, and the season besides too much advanced for any farther attempt in Ionia. But the Hellespont, more distant from the center of the Persian force, was open to enterprise by sea. Thither therefore the fleet directed its course. It was determined to destroy the bridges, which were supposed to be still standing and protected by a garrison; but they had already yielded to the

CHAP. X.

SECT. IV.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 106.Herodot. ibid.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 37.Herod. l. ix.  
c. 114.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 37.

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CHAP. X.  
SECT. IV.

Herod. l. ix.  
c. 118.  
Diod. Sic. l. xi.  
c. 37.

weather and current, and the Persians had deserted the place. Winter now approaching, Leotychides, with all the Peloponnesians, returned to Greece. Xanthippus resolved with his Athenians alone to attempt the recovery of the Chersonese; an Athenian colony, and where the Greeks were still numerous. The Persians, exposed to attacks in various parts through the command which the Athenian fleet possessed of the sea, collected their whole force in Sestos. After an obstinate defence, being pressed by famine, they made good their own retreat; upon which the Grecian inhabitants joyfully surrendered the town to the Athenians.

Herodot. l. ix.  
c. 107, 108.  
Diodor. Sic.  
l. xi. c. 36.

Strabo. l. i.  
p. 28.  
M. T. Cic. de  
Nat. Deor.  
l. i. & de Leg.  
l. ii.

The Persian monarch remained in Sardis, to see the sad relics of his forces which found means to fly from Mycale, and to receive the calamitous news of the still greater loss of his army in Greece. Shortly after he moved to his distant capital of Susa. On his departure he ordered all the Grecian temples within his power to be burnt; whether supposing the deity offended with his long sufferance of them, or that he thought to gain popularity among his subjects of the upper provinces by this sacrifice to the prejudices of the magian religion.

Such was the conclusion of the expedition of Xerxes, and of that called by Grecian writers the Persian, or often the Median war; after two campaigns wonderfully glorious to Greece, and, both in themselves and for their known consequences, perhaps the most remarkable and important in the annals of mankind.









